

Occupational Justice through Paid Work: A Qualitative Study of Work Transition Programmes for Youth with Disabilities

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Abstract

Background and rationale

Unemployed South African youth with disabilities form part of a disturbingly high general unemployment rate (29%) in the country. Favourable legislative and policy environments have been created for the development of the youth in general, and for the employment of people with disabilities, but remain vague on the issue of youth with disabilities, and appear to have failed to culminate into better employment outcomes for this group. The employment endeavours of youth with disabilities as a global minority, vulnerable, and designated group are under-researched; a situation that contributes to our lack of knowledge and understanding about their needs in relation to work. While we hold insights about the relationship between work, health and well-being, it is irresponsible and unjust to continue to ignore the exclusion of youth with disabilities from the occupation of work.

Aim

The aim of the study was to do an in-depth exploration into how a South African work transition programme for youth with disabilities promote occupational justice through work.

Objectives

The research objectives were:

- to explore the work transition programme's understanding of disability, its goals, operations, and employment outcomes for youth with disabilities;
- to analyse manifestations of occupational justice in the programme's goals, operations, and employment outcomes;
- to explore the experiences and perspectives of youth with disabilities in relation to work and occupational justice;
- to make recommendations to other work transition programmes, practitioners and policy makers regarding programme design and implementation that could promote occupational justice.

Methodology

A critical ethnographic methodology was used to explore the context and operations of a work transition programme for youth with intellectual disabilities in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. A critical occupational perspective was taken in the inductive analysis process to generate knowledge about taken-for-granted truths that could underlie the way that the occupation of work may be denied to youth with disabilities. Data collection comprised qualitative methods of interviewing, documents review, focus group interviews, observation and journalling. Eight individual interviews were completed with two programme directors, a job coach and an employer. Five focus group interviews were done with unemployed and employed youth, and all available documents were reviewed. All interviews were transcribed in English, checked, corrected and uploaded to Atlas.ti for analysis. Inductive analysis comprised three phases namely, coding and categorising the data, crystallising the categories and developing preliminary themes, and final theme development.

Findings

Three overarching themes developed from the data. Theme I, *Along the way towards occupational justice*, was categorised by information about the readiness of youth with disabilities to enter into the work transition programme, their journey of development through the programme, and the role of learnerships as a tool in work transition of this group. Theme II, *Working "outside"*, reflected meanings of working in the open labour market for youth with disabilities. A specific experience of occupational injustice highlighted the iterative nature of work transition, and the context of the open labour market and employers' role in relation to employment of youth with disabilities were described. Theme III, *Supported Employment as a counter to occupational injustice*, elaborated the essence of support as an element in work transition. Categories under this theme showed different sources of support (job coach, family, employer, other youth) as imperative to work transition of youth with disabilities.

Conclusions

The work transition programme promoted occupational justice by, firstly, adhering to and practicing according to a human rights-based approach (HRBA). The HRBA further informed and was strengthened by the programme's use of supported employment as a strategy to enhance the achievement of occupational justice. The programme's harnessing of support by different role players (namely the job coach, family, employer and other youth) was particularly instrumental in counteracting occupational marginalisation. The programme also proffered approaches to a restrictive open labour market, which promoted occupational justice through work for youth with disabilities. These approaches were to pursue employment opportunities in a seemingly receptive and somewhat sensitised sector of employment, and to create supported demonstrations opportunities in open labour market environments. An important conclusion of the study was that the programme staff's creativity, dedication and commitment were imperative in promoting occupational justice through the various programme activities.

Opsomming

Agtergrond en rasionaal

Werklose jong Suid-Afrikaners met gestremdhede vorm deel van 'n kommerwekkende hoë algemene werkloosheidsyfer (29%) in die land. Wetgewing en beleide wat die algemene ontwikkeling van jong persone ondersteun is reeds geskep, asook wat die indiensneming van persone met gestremdhede ondersteun, terwyl die kwessie van jong persone met gestremdhede vaag gedefiniëerd bly in hierdie dokumente. Die gevolg blyk te wees dat beleidsriglyne nie lei tot beter werksuitkomste vir jong persone met gestremdhede nie. Daar is 'n tekort aan navorsing oor die werksaangeleenthede van jong persone met gestremdhede as 'n wêreldwye minderheidsgroep, en 'n kwesbare en aangewese groep vir regstellende aksie in werk. Onvoldoende kennis hieromtrent gee aanleiding tot 'n gebrekkige begrip oor die werksbehoefte van jong persone met gestremdhede, en versterk die uitsluiting van hierdie jong persone in werksgeleenthede. So situasie is onregverdig en onverantwoordelik, inaggenome ons insig rakende die verhouding tussen werk, gesondheid en welwees.

Oorhoofse doel

Die doel van die studie was om 'n werk-oorgangsprogram vir jong persone met gestremdhede te ondersoek, en vas te stel hoe die program 'n bydrae lewer in die bevordering van aktiwiteitsgeregtigheid, deur middel van werk, vir hierdie groep.

Spesifieke doelstellings

Die spesifieke navorsingsdoelstellings was:

- om werk-oorgangsprogramme te ondersoek in terme van hul doelstellings, bedrywighede, hulle begrip van gestremdheid, en werksuitkomste;
- om die manifestasies van aktiwiteitsgeregtigheid te analiseer soos wat dit voorkom in die programme se doelstellings, bedrywighede en werksuitkomste;

- om perspektiewe en ervarings van jong persone met gestremdhede te verken, met betrekking tot aktiwiteitsgelykheid; en
- om aanbevelings te maak rakende werk-oorgangsprogramme ten opsigte van aktiwiteitsgelykheid deur werk.

Metodologie

'n Kritiese etnografiese metodologie is gebruik om die konteks en bedrywighede van 'n werk-oorgangsprogram vir jong persone met intellektuele gestremdhede in die Wes-Kaap Provinsie van Suid-Afrika, te verken. 'n Kritiese aktiwiteits-perspektief is ook toegepas tydens die induktiewe analise proses om kennis voort te bring oor aannames wat onderliggend kan wees tot die verlening of beperking van werksgleenthede vir jong persone met gestremdhede. Kwalitatiewe data-insamelingsmetodes is gebruik, naamlik onderhoudvoering, dokumentanalise, fokusgroepe, waarneming en joernaalinskrywings. Agt individuele onderhoude is gevoer met twee programdirekteure, 'n werksafrigter en 'n werkgewer. Vyf fokusgroepe is gehou met werkende en werklose jong persone met gestremdhede. Alle beskikbare dokumente van toepassing op die studie is geanaliseer. Nadat onderhoude getranskribeer is na Engels is die akkuraatheid van die transkripsies gekontroleer en dit na Atlas.ti opgelaaai vir analise. Die induktiewe analitiese proses het drie fases behels naamlik, kodering en kategorisering van data, verskerping van kategorieë en die ontwikkeling van voorlopige temas, en finale tema-ontwikkeling.

Bevindinge

Drie oorhoofse temas het ontwikkel gedurende data-analise. Die eerste tema, *Oppad na aktiwiteitsgeregtigheid*, behels kategorieë van inligting omtrent jong persone met gestremdhede se gereedheid om by die werk-oorgangsprogram aan te sluit, hul ontwikkeling tydens deelname aan die program, en die rol van leerlingskappe in die werksoorgang vir hierdie groep. Die tweede tema, genaamd *Om "buite" te werk*, ondervang die betekenis van werk in die ope arbeidsmark vir jong persone met gestremdhede. 'n Spesifieke ervaring van aktiwiteits-ongeregtigheid fokus op die kwessie van iteratiewe werksoorgange binne die ope arbeidsmark konteks sowel as die rol van

werkgewers ten opsigte van indiensneming van jong persone met gestremdhede. Die derde tema, *Ondersteunde Werk as 'n teenwig vir aktiwiteits-ongelykheid*, brei uit oor die sentraliteit van ondersteuning as 'n element in werksoorgange. Kategorieë binne hierdie tema wys op die noodsaaklikheid van verskillende ondersteuningsbronne (werksafrigter, familieledes, werkgever en ander jong persone met gestremdhede) in die werksoorgang van jong persone met gestremdhede.

Gevolgtrekkings

Bevindinge van die studie het gewys dat die werk-oorgangsprogram aktiwiteitsgeregtigheid op 'n aantal wyses bevorder. Eerstens word die program se bedrywighede na aanleiding van 'n menseregte-gebaseerde benadering gerig. Hierdie benadering is ook gebruik om die program se ondersteunde werk-strategie te beïnvloed en te verstek – sodoende is die strewe na aktiwiteitsgeregtigheid ondersteun. Die program se benutting van verskillende ondersteuningsbronne, naamlik die werksafrigter, familieledes, die werkgever, en ander jong persone met gestremdhede, was spesifiek belangrik as teenoëter vir marginalisering in werk. 'n Belangrike gevolgtrekking van die studie is dat die program personeel se kreatiwiteit, toewyding en sterk verbintenis tot die program integraal was vir die bevordering van aktiwiteitsgelykheid deur middel van werk.

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Definitions of terms

People with disabilities

The term *people with disabilities* is used in this dissertation instead of *persons with disabilities* used in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006). For the purpose of this dissertation, I took my guidance about appropriate terminology from the local disability movement, as documented by Disabled People South Africa (Disabled People South Africa, 2001).

Youth with disabilities

Youth with disabilities refers to people with disabilities between the ages of 15 and 36, as per the definition used for youth by the National Youth Development Agency (2015).

Open labour market

The *open labour market* refers to the general labour market in which any work seeker can apply for jobs and work. The term is used by the International Labour Organisation to distinguish the open labour market from segregated workplaces such as sheltered employment (International Labour Organization & Gender Equality and Diversity Branch, 2015).

Job coach

A *job coach* is a person who provides individual support to a person with a disability, with the aim of assisting the latter to become an equal participant in the open labour market (Parent, Unger, Gibson & Clements, 1994). Much of the support is usually offered in the workplace (Van Niekerk et al., 2011).

Learnership

A *learnership* is a learning programme offered through a collaboration between the Department of Labour and the Department of Education, where in-service training opportunities are created.

These opportunities culminate in a nationally accredited qualification and work experience for the learner (HSRC, 2008).

Sector Education and Training Authority

A *Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA)* is a vocational skills training organisation responsible for the coordination of skills development in each specific sector of industry (Services Education & Training Authority, 2015).

Supported Employment

Supported Employment is a strategy used to enable people with disabilities to succeed in open labour market work, with a number of specific outcomes, i.e., people with disabilities perform "real" jobs, they receive full employee entitlements, the job meets the employee's interests in terms of work, the work meets the employer's requirements, and an optimal level of support is offered to ensure sustainability in employment (Bryan, Simons, Beyer & Grove, 2000).

Work transition

Work transition in this study refers to an occupational transition that occurs when a young person with a disability shifts into or out of work. The transition is occupational in nature because the person may be taking on new occupations (specifically work occupations), may have to rebalance new and old occupations, or resign some occupations (Shaw & Rudman, 2009).

Occupation

Occupations are the ordinary things that people do on a day to day basis; it is the way that they spend their time and energy, and apply their interests and skills in meeting their needs (Christiansen & Townsend, 2004).

Occupational justice

Occupational justice concerns the recognition of occupational needs of individuals and communities, and provision for the fulfilment of these occupational needs as part of a fair and empowering society (Wilcock & Townsend, 2000).

Occupational marginalisation

Occupational marginalisation is a form of occupational injustice where normative standards of expectations about how, when, and where people should participate in occupations are imposed. Occupational marginalisation occurs when individuals and populations are prevented from exerting micro, everyday choices and decisions as they participate in occupation (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004).

Occupational deprivation

Occupational deprivation is a form of occupational injustice that occurs where people are precluded from engaging in necessary and/or meaningful occupations for prolonged periods, due to factors outside of their control (Whiteford, 2003).

Preamble to the study

As a practising occupational therapist in South Africa for the past 18 years, my focus has been on facilitating the work transitions of people with disabilities into real work – work performed in a competitive environment where there is no segregation from people without disabilities. Even before I became aware of the existence and availability of policy resources to support the employment endeavours of people with disabilities, I approached my clients with a "presumption of employability" (Certo & Luecking, 2011, p. 160) and with a regard for their naturally assumed right to perform real work. With a high personal sensitivity to unfairness and inequality, my awareness of how systems and society fail the largest minority group in the world – people with disabilities – was further raised during my completion of a master's degree in occupational therapy. While working on this degree, I was exposed to the activities of local and global disability activists as well as the venerable and powerful disability movement including its history, leaders and decision-makers. The result of this exposure and learning was a great respect for their achievements.

At this time, I changed jobs and moved from the position of junior therapist in government service to a senior position as a Human Resource (HR) Manager in a privately owned company. I suddenly found myself in a new position of power, and challenged by maintaining the delicate balance between workers' needs (the workforce I was responsible for consisted of workers with as well as without disabilities) and the needs of a profit-driven organisation. While the master's degree helped to prepare me with knowledge about laws and policies that govern disability-related issues in South Africa, I was now operating in an environment where those laws and policies intertwined with a wide range of other laws and policies (for example, those governing private companies and labour practices), and as the developer, implementer and custodian of the company's HR policies, honouring and driving an equality agenda for workers with disabilities became paramount to me. My sense and awareness of issues of power were heightened as I realised how power was afforded me in certain situations (for example, as a manager in the company) and stripped from me in others (for example, as a woman in a business meeting), and those lessons kept me cognisant

of the power relations between myself as a professional, *historically* white woman and the workforce I managed that consisted mainly of unskilled, *historically* coloured and black men and women with disabilities. I reflected on how pervasive the rift caused by power disparities can be in the everyday operations of workers and managers, in that the wellbeing and personal development of the workers can be restricted by unchallenged "legitimate" policies, i.e. those developed within the "safe" boundaries of law. An example of such a restriction was the following of legitimate disciplinary procedures without effective consideration of reasonable accommodation measures. The disciplinary procedures, developed according to legislative and labour expert consultation, safeguarded presiding officers against procedural transgressions, and legitimised their power as sanctioners of disciplinary steps. Within the scope of these procedures, all employees were treated equally and fairly according to the disciplinary code, with no room left for person-specific circumstances or dynamics.

Eventually, because of my intense discomfort with the status quo, I developed a proposal for a projected future role at the company with a primary aim of disability empowerment through employment. Upon the rejection of my proposal, I opted to exit the organisation with a further deep sense that change at an operational level needs to be driven, firstly, by change at an executive level, which, in a capitalist society, is inevitably influenced by the economic imperatives of society and the politics of the day. That sense has stayed with me and has been affirmed repeatedly by experiences in my practice in subsequent years, and to this day. The decision to study a topic directly related to my field of practice, and to approach it with a view to unearth what happens underneath or beyond what seems obvious and acceptable, therefore relates strongly to my belief that change in employment of people with disabilities can come from addressing macro-influences that shape societal values regarding equal rights, fairness and justice.

My philosophical stance and approach to the study, the methods that I chose, and the application of those methods to arrive at a conclusion have all been influenced by that which I am now unable to "unsee": the orchestration of everyday lives by socio-economic and political forces, with the resultant privileging of uncontested norms. As a case in point, the contextual situation of youth with disabilities living in South Africa needs to be, subsequently, regarded.

Chapter 1 : Introduction

The employment endeavours of youth with disabilities are under-researched, and the needs of youth with disabilities in relation to employment, underserved. This situation endures while these young people are globally recognised as one of the most marginalised groups in society. Marginalisation results in youth with disabilities remaining unemployed, under-employed or employed at lower wages than non-disabled youth (Groce, 2004). Compared to non-disabled youth, fewer youth with disabilities are employed, and fewer are looking for work (Lindsay, Hartman & Fellin, 2016).

This dissertation will present the findings of a study conducted between 2014 and 2017 to contribute knowledge to the field of youth with disabilities in relation to employment. Introductory to the dissertation, this chapter will delineate the background to the study to clarify its rationale, and the purpose, aim and objectives will be described. The chapter will then conclude by stipulating the main findings of the study and giving an overview of the thesis.

1.1 The context for South African youth with disabilities

Seven and a half per cent of people in South Africa have disabilities, and almost one sixth (405 048) of this population comprises young people between the ages of 14 and 35 (Statistics South Africa, 2014a). The range of ages included in South Africa is broader than the global one in order to compensate for the effects of apartheid-era discrimination against and exclusion of the majority of the black population from opportunities to participate in society (National Youth Development Agency, 2015). The country's orientation to people with disabilities has improved since, in the late 1990s, progressive disability-sensitive legislation and policies started to emerge. The South African Constitution laid the foundation for the promotion and protection of human rights for all South Africans (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), and subsequent laws and policies recognised people with disabilities as equal citizens. The Integrated National Disability Strategy White Paper (INDS) of 1997 (Office of the Deputy President, 1997), informed by the United Nations Standard Rules for the Equalisation of Opportunity for Persons with Disabilities of

1993 (United Nations, 1994), was the first and an important policy document to set the tone for mainstreaming disability issues in the country. In constructing the INDS, the Office of the then Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, embraced the premise of the social model of disability as a human rights issue, and started to involve people with disabilities in the development of specific policies and legislation that would give effect to the recommendations contained in the White Paper (Office of the Deputy President, 1997).

Current disability inclusion efforts in South Africa are guided by international policy like the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020), but in particular the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) (United Nations, 2006). The Convention emphasises equal citizenship based on equal human rights for all people with disabilities, and recognises the multitude of factors existing in the lives of people with disabilities, that may impact negatively on their equal participation in society (United Nations, 2006). By signing the UNCRPD, the South African government undertook to report to the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on the country's progress towards realising the goals of the UNCRPD. Effective implementation of disability-sensitive policies and laws has remained limited over the past 21 years, though, partly due to capacity constraints at programmatic levels of implementation (Dube, 2005). Other reasons considered to have an impact on implementation include the lack of fiscal resources allocated to such efforts, and poor review and articulation of the nature of people with disabilities' participation of people with disabilities in implementation efforts (Dube, 2005).

Local policy in the form of the White Paper on the Rights of People with Disabilities (WPRPD) (Department of Social Development, 2015) integrated the obligations of the UNCRPD with local legislation, policy frameworks and the country's National Development Plan for 2030. The White Paper addresses employment and disability in particular through three directives for law makers and policy makers, namely determining disability related economic affirmative action targets, providing affordable vocational rehabilitation programmes, and integrating disability-specific socio-economic development programmes on the national employment services database (Department of Social Development, 2015). While reports on the DSD's implementation of the

White Paper are not available on the first period of monitoring (2015-2019), Kamga (2016) commented on the importance of effective monitoring systems for the WPRPD to be meaningful.

The South African legislative and policy context appears to set the scene for youth with disabilities to compete for employment opportunities alongside youth without disabilities and the broader public. This reality will subsequently be described further.

1.2 Youth with disabilities and employment in South Africa

People with disabilities seeking employment in South Africa compete for limited opportunities in the context of a countrywide high unemployment rate of 29% (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Consequently, and due to an unaccommodating labour market, only 1.2% of formally reported employees in 2014 were people with disabilities (Commission for Employment Equity, 2015). Not surprisingly, the unemployment predicament faced by South African youth mirrors that of youth worldwide. Despite favourable legislative and policy environments created to promote youth development in the country, the unemployment rate of young South Africans has remained between 35% and 37% since the 2008/2009 recession (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Youth development has, therefore, been identified as a critical priority for the country (National Planning Commission, 2012), and the National Youth Policy (NYP) was developed to consolidate initiatives that enhance the capabilities of the youth to contribute to the economy and society (National Youth Development Agency [NYDA], 2015). Following from the NYP, an Integrated Youth Development Strategy (IYDS) guides the facilitation of programmes aimed at job creation for the youth (NYDA, 2017). These two documents, the NYP and the IYDS, invoke the support of government and other role players for young people who, by virtue of their vulnerability and other constraints, find themselves relegated to the margins of society and are unable to benefit from the policy dispensations offered by the South African democracy. The NYP and IYDS are informed and supported by an array of documents that prioritise and strategise for youth development in South Africa, including The African Youth Charter (African Union, 2006) and the National Youth Development Act (Republic of South Africa, 2008). Despite a general acknowledgement of the employment needs of youth with disabilities as a designated disadvantaged minority, policies

continue to omit specific measures and commitments to create employment opportunities for youth with disabilities.

This population group, thus, find themselves within a favourable context regarding policies that promote and advocate for their inclusion and equal development opportunities, but not in their day-to-day reality of unemployment. Unemployment – the absence of employment as occupation – and its relationship to health will subsequently be considered.

1.3 Employment as occupation, and health

Occupational therapists' consideration for employment stems from an understanding of work occupation as a contributor to health and well-being (Van Niekerk, 2009; Wilcock, 2007). Therapists have been using work occupations since the dawn of the profession to build clients' capacity for health and well-being. The fairly recent development and of occupational therapy's social vision (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2006; Townsend, 1993) have moved the profession to consider its role in relation to the social impact of employment and unemployment through its connection with work. Shaw draws attention to the global transformation of work and challenges practitioners to critically consider their role and practice in facilitating work transitions in a globalised context. She highlights the reality of prolonged unemployment in low and middle-income countries that contributes to and perpetuates an occupational injustice among marginalised groups such as youth with disabilities (2013). South African therapists in the early 2000s started expressing the need for alternative occupational therapy practices that are more reflective of a socio-politically conscientised profession (Joubert, 2010). In the context of the high general unemployment rate, and with empirical knowledge of the value of work occupations in restoring health and well-being, it is thus opportune for me as an occupational therapist to pursue a better understanding of the employment needs of youth with disabilities as a marginalised group. The perpetual exclusion of youth with disabilities from the occupation of paid work while other members of society are readily afforded access to this resource, means that youth with disabilities are denied participation in a health-giving occupation, and constitutes an injustice towards this group.

Since the development of the INDS in 1997, an array of laws and policies have been influenced to direct the inclusion of people with disabilities in employment, including the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997), Skills Development Act (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 1998), Employment Equity Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998), The Code of Good Practice on Key Aspects on the Employment of People with Disabilities (Department of Labour, 2002), Technical Assistance Guidelines on the Employment of People with Disabilities (Department of Labour, 2015), and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (Republic of South Africa, 2000). Work for and employment of people with disabilities evidently receive coverage in policies directed at enhancing employment opportunities for this cohort. But here also, like with disability-related issues as a whole, implementation efforts fall short of effectively establishing equal employment opportunity for youth with disabilities.

Attempts to transition people with disabilities into employment (competitive as well as sheltered employment) do find expression in some government services and programmes. The Department of Health (DoH) offers vocational rehabilitation to health service users inclusive of work assessment, but only limited work preparation aspects are included (Coetzee, Goliath, Van der Westhuizen & Van Niekerk, 2011). The Department of Social Development (DSD) subsidises workshops where people with severe disabilities, who are regarded as unable to work in the open labour market, perform industrial-type work (Office on the Status of Disabled Persons, 2003). The Department of Education (DoE) offers a special needs education curriculum to learners with disabilities, but its focus on the pre-school preparation of learners with intellectual disabilities presents a lack of pre-vocational and vocational training, which leaves career services to school-going youth with disabilities limited, if not non-existent (Steyn & Vlachos, 2011).

Lastly, the Department of Labour (DoL) funds learnerships as its core macro-strategy for skills development to counter unemployment, poverty and inequality (Department of Labour, 2013). Though youth-uptake of learnerships is high (75%), the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) performs weakest on its equity targets for people with disabilities (<1%) (Human Sciences

Research Council, 2009). The extent to which the NSDS has achieved success with assisting people to transition into employment in general, remains limited as evidenced by the high levels of poverty and unemployment (Kay & Fretwell, 2003). The DoL further offers assistance to people with disabilities in accessing support services and gaining interview skills, job search skills, time-management and communication skills (International Labour Organisation, 2006). The DoL also subsidises salaries of placement officers at a number of disabled people's organisations (DPOs), and pay a subsidy to 13 sheltered employment facilities (International Labour Organisation, 2006).

Despite the clear emphasis on South African youth in development initiatives, information about the recourses, utilisation and outcomes for youth with disabilities in the context of unemployment is limited. Evidence about the employment endeavours and outcomes of South African youth with disabilities further remains scarce because their status is not distinguished from the general disabled population when statistics are reported. Lindsay, McDougall, Menna-Dack, Sanford and Adams (2015) note that this group has largely been ignored in the development efforts geared towards young people, while disability research focuses mainly on all adults with disabilities. As a result, a lack of understanding about the employment needs of youth with disabilities typifies efforts that are supposed to enhance their transition into employment, and which, as such, informed the rationale for this study. More specifically, knowledge of what hinders these youth's capabilities to take up occupational opportunities in work is of interest, if a seemingly conducive policy environment already exists.

This study's aim is to do an in-depth exploration of how a South African work transition programme for youth with disabilities, promote occupational justice through work. Work transition programmes have not been evaluated in terms of their outcomes for participants, or on whether the achieved outcomes and delivery mechanisms enhance global and national imperatives for equality for youth with disabilities. The purpose of the study is, therefore, to generate knowledge about the ideological orientation, processes and operations of work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities, by investigating the following question: How does a work transition programme promote occupational justice for youth with disabilities?

The research objectives to enable achievement of the aim are to explore the work transition programme's understanding of disability as well as its goals, operations and employment outcomes for youth with disabilities; to analyse the manifestation of occupational justice in the programme's goals, operations and employment outcomes; to explore perspectives and experiences of occupational justice through work by youth with disabilities; and to make recommendations to other work transition programmes, practitioners and policy makers regarding programme design and implementation that could promote occupational justice through work.

1.4 Overview of the dissertation

The dissertation comprises eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the background to the study and clarified its rationale, the research question, the aim of the study as well as the research objectives.

Chapter 2 presents a review of previous and current research and literature about the topic under study, youth with disabilities and employment. The chapter is presented in the form of a published literature review, and will rationalise the need for this study by delineating the research gap in knowledge about youth with disabilities and employment in international and local contexts.

Chapter 3 explains the conceptual framework of occupational justice and its concepts as they relate to youth with disabilities and employment. A critical occupational perspective of work transition employed in the study is also rationalised in this chapter.

Chapter 4 details and justifies the methodology utilised in the research.

Chapter 5 introduces the work transition programme which was studied, and gives information about the youth with disabilities who participate in the programme.

Chapter 6 describes and details the findings from data collection, and presents the results of data analysis.

Chapter 7 presents a further analysis of the findings in the form of detailed discussions and reference to existing literature and research.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by summarising the main findings of the research, inferring the significance of the findings to knowledge about employment, youth with disabilities,

and occupational justice through work. Recommendations based on the findings of the research are also made in this chapter, pertaining to work practice and work transition of youth with disabilities, disability-related and other policies that govern work transition and labour practices, and occupational justice through employment as a going concern in South Africa.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

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Review articles

A literature review on work transitioning of youth with disabilities into competitive employment

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Background: The marginalisation of youth with disabilities from employment opportunities is evident from literature in as far as they form part of the larger groups 'people with disabilities' and 'youth'. A focused view of programmes that assist youth with disabilities into employment has not been presented, despite the worldwide crisis of youth unemployment.

Aim: This review aimed to identify evidence on work transition programmes that are effective in assisting people with disabilities into open labour market (competitive) employment, as well as to highlight gaps in knowledge to inform future research on this topic.

Methods: Literature and policy on programmes that support such transitions were considered, firstly from a global perspective and then with a view from developing countries. The SALSA (Search, Appraisal, Synthesis and Analysis) framework was used to source and analyse information from a diverse set of documents. Various online databases were searched for research papers published between 1990 and 2016, and websites were searched for reports pertaining to this topic.

Results: Ninety-nine documents were selected to inform the review, out of an identified 259 scientific journal articles, policy documents, acts, organisational reports and book chapters.

Conclusion: A synthesis of findings was presented in a narrative that reflects the themes of youth with disabilities and employment in the world, work transition endeavours in the developing world and a specific focus on this group in South Africa. The review revealed a gap in knowledge and evidence pertaining to youth with disabilities and employment, highlighting these as research foci, and emphasising the need for youth-focused research that generates knowledge about disability and transitions into the labour force.

Introduction

Across the world, youth have been identified as a vulnerable group who experiences low levels of employment. In 2014, 75 million out of the 200 million unemployed people worldwide were youth (International Labour Organisation [ILO] 2014). Youth development has also become a critical priority for South Africa. Here, youth is defined as people between the ages of 14 and 35, with the upper age limit so high because of historical imbalances that were created by the apartheid regime (National Youth Development Agency 2015). This age group comprises a disturbing 71% of the unemployed population (Statistics South Africa 2012) and is among the worst affected by the 2008/2009 recession (Department of Labour 2012).

A minority group of youth, namely youth with disabilities, has not been prioritised by governments in creating access to employment for them. Although South African policy identified youth with disabilities as a priority target group a decade ago, the government has, for example, opted not to apply a quota system in labour legislation that facilitates employment of people with disabilities, even though such a strategy is regarded a viable method to increase employment (ILO 2015).

Information about youth with disabilities is scarce. One reason may be that statistics about this group are reported as part of general disability statistics. For instance, current employment statistics in South Africa reflect 1.2% of the workforce as people with disabilities (Department of Labour 2015), with no indication of the proportion of youth with disabilities. Others have noted that youth with disabilities have largely been ignored in development efforts for young people, with more research focused on adults than youth with disabilities (Lindsay, McDougall, Menna-Dack, Sanford & Adams 2015).

This review of the literature and policies was set against the above backdrop, which reflects the absence of a plan for youth with disabilities in relation to employment.

Methods of the literature search

The first author of this paper conducted a review of programmes that support the transition of youth with disabilities into competitive employment. Her objective was to identify evidence about programmes that are effective and knowledge gaps about youth with disabilities in relation to employment, which could inform future research directions in this field. A further aim was to develop an understanding about local and international disability discourses that might inform increased labour participation opportunities for youth with disabilities. The primary research question that led the review was 'What knowledge and evidence contribute to the successful transition of youth with disabilities into employment from international and local (South African) perspectives or literature?' Given the need to first focus broadly and then to examine literature and evidence from a local perspective, a systematic approach to an integrative review process was followed (Whittemore & Knafl 2005), by applying the SALSA (Search, Appraisal, Synthesis and Analysis) framework (Grant & Booth 2009). This framework supports flexibility and unique processes rather than adopting a specific literature review type. It was used to conduct an organised review by sourcing and analysing information on the complex and challenging social issue of youth with disabilities and transitions into competitive employment.

Search

The authors acknowledged that different perspectives were needed to identify, analyse and explain how evidence from an international perspective might be used to inform and enhance South African policy, research directions and the application of evidence in practice. The sourcing of diverse types of literature to produce information is consistent with conducting an integrative review of evidence to improve health practices (Whittemore & Knafl 2005). This approach was thus adopted for the integration of information that might lead to the improvement of employment practices for youth with disabilities. Sub-questions were developed and key words identified to guide the search strategies (Table 1). These were used to find information from research papers, policy documents and legislation or institutional reports. Research databases CINAHL, MEDLINE, PsycINFO, Elsevier, Wiley Online Library, SAGE Publications and ArticleFirst were searched for research papers published from 1990 until March 2016. Local and international government, disability organisations and research institutions websites were searched for relevant reports and documents. Websites included those of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), World Health Organisation (WHO), Disabled People South Africa (DPSA), the South African Departments of Labour, Social Development, and Health, and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). The search process resulted in a total of 259 documents being identified, including 164 scientific journal articles, 92 policy documents, acts, organisational reports, and five books or chapters from books.

TABLE 1: Search strategies and key words.

Sub-questions to guide search strategies	Key words used
What types of knowledge exist in the international and local literature on youth with disabilities and transitions into employment?	Youth with disabilities Youth unemployment People with disabilities and unemployment Developing countries Open labour market
What are the strategies or models that support how youth with disabilities enter into employment in the international and local literature?	Youth with disabilities Unemployment Transition programmes School-to-work Work transition strategies
What research has been done on employment outcomes for youth with disabilities and transitions into employment?	Disability & poverty Disability & inequality Welfare to workfare Labour market policy Youth with disabilities & employment People with disabilities & unemployment
Is there evidence of successful work transition programmes?	Youth transitioning into work Youth with disabilities & employment Transitioning youth with disabilities
What, if any, are the international standards for transitioning youth with disabilities into employment?	Youth employment transition programmes Youth with disabilities School-to-work

Source: Authors' own work

Appraisal

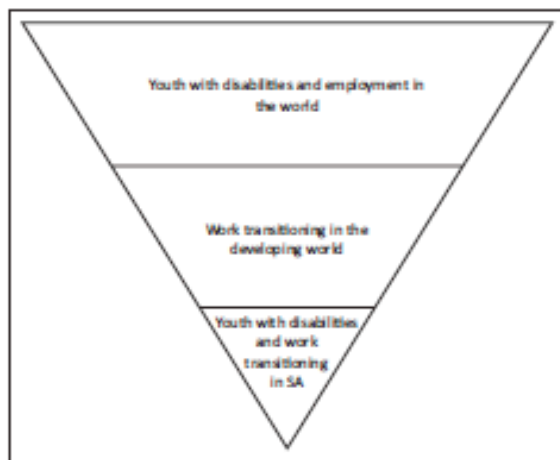
Ninety-nine articles and documents were selected to inform this review, after those that reflected duplication of information, or did not present current evidence, or diverged from the topic of youth with disabilities, or reported on forms of employment not included in this review, were excluded. To establish the fit and relevance of the literature (Arksey & O'Malley 2005), abstracts or executive summaries were read and key words were highlighted (Table 1). Next, the potential of the document to contribute information to answer the sub-questions in Table 1 was reviewed.

Synthesis

The guiding sub-questions as well as deep reading and reflection upon the documents were used to generate a framework for the extraction and synthesis of information. The framework included the contexts (global and local) and levels of evidence (i.e. macro-economic, policy and operational levels) that organised and supported the extraction of information, and the subsequent integration thereof. The themes in Figure 1 were used to obtain information about global and local platforms and to guide an explanation of the implementation of approaches in countries outside South Africa, as well as in South Africa, on youth with disabilities transitioning into work, and to identify the research that is needed to enhance practice and policy.

Analysis

An integrative approach was used to interpret and combine the context of system influences with evidence, policy and reports on programme outcomes aimed at achieving employment inclusion of youth with disabilities. A holistic synthesis of the information on each theme was drafted and critically appraised to identify what knowledge is missing, and what research is needed to enhance inclusion and participation of youth with disabilities. Recommendations for areas of research that will inform policy and practice were



Source: Author's own work.

FIGURE 1: Themes used to extract information from literature.

identified. The results of the analysis were shared with two researchers for coherence with the state of knowledge globally (international advisor) and locally (local supervisor). A narrative summary of the findings was produced.

Youth with disabilities and employment in the world

Youth with disabilities' marginal position in terms of employment has been recognised and described by researchers (Groce 2004; Lindsay, Hartman & Fellin 2015). Youth with disabilities are often unemployed, under-employed or earn less than their non-disabled counterparts (Groce 2004). They are often the last to be hired and the first to be retrenched or fired, or hired for jobs that require little training and have few opportunities for development. Even when they are well educated, youth with disabilities take longer to find a position, have less job security and less prospect of advancement than their non-disabled peers with similar levels of education (Groce 2004). These disadvantages are compounded, with fewer youth with disabilities working or looking for work than non-disabled youth (Lindsay, Hartman & Fellin 2015).

Youth with disabilities' outlook for entering into employment is further limited by a basic lack of work and employment preparation. A critical examination of the broad disability and development literature in low-income countries (for example Bangladesh, Cambodia and Kenya) reports that the disadvantages of youth with disabilities in employment start with the denial of opportunities to participate as a child (Parnes et al. 2009). Access to early, primary and secondary education or life skills and vocational training that are available to other children are routinely refused to children with disabilities. The failing of educational systems to prepare youth with disabilities for the world of work, compounded by and contributing to their lack of skills, gives employers justification for discrimination against this group (Roggero et al. 2006).

Social security systems cause a further restraint to youth with disabilities becoming employed. Turton (2001) and Roessler (2002) described the discouraging effect of the UK and USA welfare benefit systems to people with disabilities. Recipients of benefits consider the risks associated with losing the benefit as too high should they become employed. They further consider the apparent cost of going to work as a deterrent to pursuing employment. Engelbrecht and Lorenzo (2010) described the same adverse effect of the social security grant, when employment is indeed an option for people with disabilities.

The low employment rate of youth with disabilities is further influenced by government policies that are not being implemented, or not being implemented effectively, along with market inefficiencies. The result is an imbalanced and out-of-sync supply and demand dynamic in labour markets (Roggero et al. 2006). Roulstone suggests that the changing nature of employment, global challenges for disabled workers, and the role of the state and trade unions need to be reconsidered in transforming the global capitalist economy (2002). Failing this, current labour markets will remain exclusionary to youth with disabilities, and continue to support a mainstream system of poverty and unemployment (Roulstone 2002).

Neoliberal workfare policies, where economic policy favours a movement from welfare to work, seem to have created tension between person-centred principles and the simultaneous improvement of service efficiencies and accountability. In three developed countries with healthy market economies where workfare policies have become operational, many people with disabilities remained unable to access the support they need to participate fully in the labour market (O'Brien & Dempsey 2004); this, despite the availability of employment strategies. In Finland, for example, sheltered employment¹ remains the largest and most common employment option for people with disabilities, even though affirmative businesses are available to transition people with disabilities into real work. Sweden has subsidised employment (competitive employment with up to 80% wage subsidy to employers, or a job coach paid by the state), and in both countries, as well as in Australia, supported employment² (SE) is available as a work transition strategy.

Evaluations of the effect of workfare policies on equality in employment participation of people with disabilities have shown only modest success (Harris, Owen & Gould 2012). In the USA, UK and Australia, researchers found that an individualised model of citizenship is promoted by these policies that systematically ignore the social, economic and labour market conditions in which individuals seek employment (Harris et al. 2012). The model has a further adverse impact on people who already experience high levels

¹Sheltered employment refers to segregated work programmes for people with disabilities who are not able to work in a competitive employment setting (Krauskopf 2013).

²Supported employment is an employment strategy that facilitates people with severe disabilities into competitive employment (Wehman et al. 1991).

of discrimination in free markets, because services can operate selectively and become prone to serve those with a higher likelihood of entering competitive employment. This 'individualisation of disability' maintains the marginalisation of people with disabilities, when it is mainly political and organisational forces that create exclusive societies (Eide & Ingstad 2013:5).

Literature thus confirms that international attempts at social and economic policy levels to improve the employment situation for youth with disabilities render minimal outcomes at best, and are ineffective at worst. Evidence produced at levels where work transition occurs, will subsequently be examined to contribute to this comprehensive review of work transitions and youth with disabilities.

Evidence about mechanisms for work transition programmes

Several studies describe the characteristics of programmes that are needed to transition people with disabilities into employment. Robinson (2000) and Smits (2004) identified collaboration and communication between agencies, having employment for people with disabilities as a shared priority, and service providers, public awareness and involved employers as central factors in employment inclusion. Smits, who researched best practice in disability employment in the USA, further found that positive employment outcomes were facilitated at service sites when services were integrated and coordinated with common, customer-driven objectives, and traditional bureaucratic barriers were avoided. At community level, the co-location of staff at employment service centres, and cross-training staff about each other's roles, builds trust among providers and promotes collaboration. Accessibility and state-of-the-art assistive technology further maximises the value of services provided. Smits further emphasised the availability of multi-agency expertise to consumers, with shared accountability reinforcing the provision of high quality shared services (2004). Another study focused on assisting people with mental illness into employment, found that liaison positions and collaborative teams, staff training on mental health and workforce issues, and multi-level involvement of people with disabilities enhance successful work transitions (Boeltzig, Timmons & Marrone 2008).

In American literature, school-to-work programmes were overwhelmingly found to be effective in transitioning youth with disabilities into work. Rabren, Dunn and Chambers (2002) researched predictors of post-school employment for learners with disabilities, agreeing that positive employment outcomes can be expected from high school programmes that engage students in work (i.e. a focus on transition out of school into work). These programmes, (see the Youth Transition Program Model, Benz, Lindstrom & Latta 1999; the Transition Service Integration Model, Luecking & Certo 2003; Project SEARCH, O'Day 2009; Rutkowski et al. 2006; the Transition and Customised Employment Project, Rogers

et al. 2008; the Partnerships for Youth Initiative, Muthumbi 2008 and the Youth Transition Demonstration Project, Luecking & Wittenburg 2009) usually involved collaborative efforts among a number of agencies (e.g. the Department of Education, state vocational rehabilitation agencies and employers), and interventions spanning the last year of a youth's secondary schooling until sustainable employment had been secured.

Other mechanisms that have been found to be viable for transitioning youth with disabilities into employment are micro-enterprises and affirmative businesses. Conroy, Ferris and Irvine (2010) studied micro-enterprises in Alabama State (USA) and concluded that participation in employment is promoted for people with intellectual and developmental disabilities through this mechanism. In the USA and UK, affirmative businesses were found to be relevant as employment options for people with disabilities, especially where few competitive employment opportunities are available (Easterly & McCallion 2010; Secker, Dass & Grove 2003).

Literature from industrialised countries overwhelmingly reflects positive employment outcomes for youth with disabilities when specific approaches are implemented at programmatic levels where transition occurs. To conclude this review though, the same or similar evidence from the developing world will now be considered to ascertain what the reality for youth with disabilities in this context may be.

Evidence of work transitioning efforts in the developing world

Research from the Global South has commented on the very limited success of micro-financing as an employment strategy for people with disabilities. Lewis (2004) researched self-employment of women with disabilities in Zambia and Zimbabwe, when they made use of micro-financing. She concluded that key strategies still need to be put in place to include women with disabilities in finance, in order for micro-financing to be a viable transition strategy. De Klerk (2008) also found that this strategy is restricted for people with disabilities in other African countries, India and the Middle East, because of stigmatisation and self-exclusion. People with disabilities also do not have prior business experience, and micro-financers are often absent in rural areas (De Klerk 2008). Nuwagaba and Rule (2016) highlighted that people with disabilities in Uganda cannot access learning about micro-finance.

A South African study, conducted almost 20 years ago, found that home industries,³ as an employment option for people with disabilities in rural areas, were non-viable (Uys & Phillips 1997). Though small business- and institution-based approaches were successful in creating employment, the total number of people with disabilities who became employed was very low and, as such, the cost-effectiveness of the researched approach was questioned (Uys & Phillips 1997).

³ Industries where workers performed piecework at their homes for local businesses.

Some research has been conducted with large employers in South Africa, finding that employers are willing to employ people with disabilities, if certain conditions are met. Wiggett-Barnard and Swartz (2012) surveyed 26 large South African employers' perspectives, and found that these employers are more prone to hire people with disabilities in the next 12 months if they had already hired people with disabilities before ($Z = 5.45; p < 0.05$). Employers identified the use of specialised recruitment agencies, a targeted recruitment plan, disability awareness training for staff and internships as the best facilitators for the employment of people with disabilities. Most participants also indicated that a special budget for accommodation would enhance facilitation of disability-employment. Participants valued information on accommodation and the impact of disabilities on job performance, leading the researchers to conclude that better information sharing and understanding can lead to better representation of people with disabilities in the South African labour market (Wiggett-Barnard & Swartz 2012).

Contrary to employers' perspectives, Mansay (2014) explored the narratives of people with disabilities to identify ways of facilitating employment for them. Her participants identified policy, support structures, education and training, individual and societal attitude shifts, self-determination and enabling environments as crucial factors in the transitioning of people with disabilities into the South African labour market. Ned and Lorenzo (2016) contributed by highlighting the need for capacity development of community-based service providers in rural South Africa, to enhance economic inclusion of youth with disabilities.

Supported employment was identified as a viable strategy for transitioning people with disabilities into work in contexts with limited resources (Van Niekerk et al. 2015). Van Niekerk et al.'s study followed people with mental disabilities over a period of 12 months and tracked their utilisation of supported employment services and employment outcomes for that period.

With the South African context in particular having distinguished itself in the available literature, the review progressed by sharply focusing on this local context, and how work transition programmes may be facilitating the participation of youth with disabilities in competitive employment.

South Africa's disability employment environment

Programmes in the public domain in South Africa continue to come up short on positive employment outcomes for youth with disabilities, confirming that there is a lack of policy implementation. South Africa signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities in 2007, pledging to protect the right of people with disabilities to work on an equal basis with others, including the opportunity to gain a living by work that is freely chosen or accepted in a labour market that is open,

inclusive and accessible (United Nations 2016). The National Planning Commission also specifically recognises the need for better reflection of people with disabilities in all levels of employment by 2030 (National Planning Commission 2012). Despite having this policy environment that is supportive of youth, South African youth with disabilities navigate poor health and social attitudes in their quest to become employed in addition to lack of skills and availability of jobs (Cramm et al. 2013).

In terms of policy implementation, there is no evidence available on whether the Department of Health's strategy to assist people with disabilities into work, that is, vocational rehabilitation (VR), is effective. Health service consumers have access to VR services which include work assessment and preparation, but do not extend to transition into work (Coetzee et al. 2011).

For schoolgoing youth with disabilities, preparation for the world of work is insufficient, resulting in the low probability of successful transitioning into employment. Although the Department of Education offers a special education curriculum in schools for learners with special educational needs (LSEN), vocational training as a channel for work transition is not a focus of this curriculum (Steyn & Vlachos 2011). As such, career services in special needs education remain very limited. Though a number of mechanisms exist to assist youth with disabilities into tertiary education, the scope of this review excluded studies on the section of the disabled South African population who would typically be in a position to utilise such opportunities.

The National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS), implemented jointly by the Department of Labour and Department of Education, performs weakest on its equity targets for people with disabilities (Akoojee, Gewer & McGrath 2005). Enrolment of people with disabilities in NSDS skills development programmes has been extremely low (less than 1%) (HSRC 2009), with no specifics being reported about the enrolment and outcomes for youth with disabilities. The extent to which the NSDS has facilitated unemployed people into employment has also been restricted by high levels of poverty and unemployment (Kay & Fretwell 2003).

The National Department of Public Works (NDPW) failed to create employment for youth with disabilities through their Expanded Public Work Programme (EPWP). The EPWP entails the use of public expenditure to promote productive employment and develop marketable skills among historically disadvantaged communities (International Labour Office 2014). By 2014, between 0.001% and 0.003% people with disabilities had become employed through EPWP, despite a target of 2% of 4.5 million people (Department of Public Works & South African Cities Network 2014). Specific information on the number of youth with disabilities was again not reported.

Though the state is trying to honour its commitment to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with

Disabilities by recognising the plight of youth with disabilities in legislation and policy, implementation of policy in state departments has failed to change the employment situation of youth with disabilities.

Limitations of the literature review

Although a number of initiatives exist under the *Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act* of 2003, and the *Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act* of 2000, the scope of this review excludes self-employment and industry ownership initiatives facilitated by these Acts. A separate and growing body of knowledge exists about entrepreneurship as a strategy for people with disabilities to become economically active.

Tertiary education options and mechanisms to assist youth with disabilities who may have obtained further education after school were also not considered in the scope of this article. This review focused on the largest portion of youth with disabilities who generally would not be able to access further education.

Specific social issues that may intersect with the concepts of youth and disability were not included in the scope of this review.

Conclusion

Because of the lack of enforcement of disability supportive laws and failure to implement related policies, youth with disabilities remain marginalised and excluded from a job market that is saturated with an over-supply of unskilled workers. Although South Africa's policy environment supports the right of youth with disabilities to work and highlights access to employment for this group as a priority, youth with disabilities continue to lose out on employment against other designated groups defined by the law.

The lack of evidence regarding the employment of youth with disabilities has resulted in a shortfall in the design of measures that will effectively address their employment needs. In the developed world, work transition programmes for youth with disabilities have been met with varying degrees of success through integrated school-to-work approaches. This appraisal of the international literature concluded though that the majority of reported studies were focused on disability employment in general, with less attention to youth with disabilities. In developing countries, available research on employment outcomes for this subgroup is even more limited or altogether absent. Efforts to assist youth with disabilities into employment will continue to be inadequate, if specific evidence-based transitioning methods and avenues are not identified and researched.

Research of policy implementation becomes all the more important when evidence can inform the development of effective delivery mechanisms of work transition for youth with disabilities. The redress of past and current injustices in the employment of youth with disabilities shall ultimately

have a positive influence on the unemployment rate of this group. It is well known that the financial reward from participating in work is only one of a range of benefits to the worker, including social contacts and support, and the structuring of time (Boland & Griffin 2015; Van Niekerk 2009; Webster & Omar 2003). In the absence of effective mechanisms to transition youth with disabilities into employment, these health-giving elements of work remain exclusive to those without disabilities, and youth with disabilities stay on the margins of society, unable to participate.

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Competing interests

The authors declare that they have no financial or personal relationships that may have inappropriately influenced them in writing this article.

Authors' contributions

M.E. is the researcher and PhD student. L.v.N. and L.S. are her PhD promoters who have informed the review and research through guidance and feedback.

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Literature published since 2017 (when the above literature review was published), continued to highlight the disadvantaged position of youth with disabilities in relation to employment. In particular, literature from developed countries continued to be forthcoming, reporting research about the work transitions of youth with disabilities. Wehman, Schall & McDonough et al. (2019), for example, found that a nine-month internship with specialised supports for young people with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is effective in leading these youth to competitive employment. The researchers performed a multi-site, parallel block randomised clinical trial with young people with ASD. The findings of Wehman et al's study support the literature reviewed about positive employment outcomes for youth with disabilities in industrialised countries where structured, employment-focused interventions are available during the final year of secondary school.

A systematic review by Lindsay, Lamptey and Cagliostro et al (2019) explored post-secondary transition programmes and interventions available to youth with disabilities over a 20-year period with the aim to identify best practices and components of such programmes. The programmes reviewed found common components of successful programmes to include group-based interventions run by graduate students or a variety of professionals, or self-directed interventions in various settings, run for a minimum of three hours intervention time. Programmes further provided opportunities to improve self-determination and self-efficacy skills of youth with disabilities, skills that these youth typically have few opportunities to develop. Conclusions from this research supported existing literature that engagement of youth with disabilities in post-secondary transition programmes enhances their participation in work.

Further research with a focus on young people with intellectual and developmental disabilities (IDD) and work transitions were produced. Based on the evidence that high school work experience is a predictor of post-secondary employment success for people with IDD, Whittenburg, Sims, Wehman and Walther-Thomas (2018) produced an article drawing on supported employment research to be helpful to service providers to youth with IDD. In describing practical strategies for developing relationships with local employers, they aimed to capacitate secondary special education transition teams to capitalise on proven strategies that enhance school-to-work

transitions for youth with IDD. Hall, Butterworth & Winsor et al. (2018) also contributed to the literature on youth with IDD by conducting an overview of research by the Rehabilitation Research and Training Center on Advancing Employment for Individuals with IDD. The authors concluded that an integrated holistic approach to system change is required to enhance integrated employment for people with IDD. As examples the authors pointed out the need for effective case managers at state policy level, the need for a focus on outcomes and performance measurement at organisational level, and sufficient funding, service definitions, and provider qualifications at state level, as factors to effect systemic changes in mechanisms that deliver integrated employment to people with disabilities.

Lindstrom, Hirano, Ingram et al (2019) in their research pointed out the significance of gender-specific interventions aimed at preparing young people with disabilities to transition into work. The researchers surveyed 49 young women with different disabilities from four high schools in a North-western state in the USA, who participated in a 75-lesson Paths 2 the Future (P2F) curriculum. Their findings suggested that vocational identity and awareness of young people with disabilities may be influenced positively when targeted learning experiences in a gender-specific environment are created.

Literature from developing countries promoted a policy-level focus to influence employment for youth with disabilities. Chichaya, Joubert and McColl (2018), for example, analysed disability policy in Namibia from an occupational justice perspective by using a qualitative research design and Bardach's eightfold path approach to policy analysis. Their findings suggested that access policy as alternative disability policy is more likely to promote fairness and increased occupational participation of people with disabilities, also in employment as a life sphere.

Another qualitative study conducted in West Zambia rather focused on the concerns of people with disabilities in this context related to poverty, suffering and disability (Cleaver, Polatajko and Bond et al., 2018). The researchers proposed that a contextually grounded account of a particular understanding of disability and poverty contributes to disability practice and

policymaking, while the research further pointed out the disjuncture between their findings and the belief that understandings of disability in the global South are dominated by a traditional model of disability.

Literature in the domain of youth with disabilities and employment that was published after 2017 seems to support the conclusions of the review published in that year and included in this thesis. More specifically, the need for research on this topic in developing contexts and with a focus on youth as a sub-group of people with disabilities, continue to be pertinent in order to influence policy and practice that promote work transitions into open labour market environments.

Chapter 3 : Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, the conceptual framework that guided this study is explained and motivated. Occupational justice as a concept in occupational science is elaborated on in relation to employment and work transitions, and the necessity for a critical perspective of the occupation of work and work transitions is rationalised.

3.1 Occupational justice and related concepts

Occupations, as understood by occupational therapists, are the ordinary things that people do on a day to day basis (Christiansen & Townsend, 2004), and that are inextricably linked to a person's health and well-being (Wilcock, 1998). Although such occupations have been used for centuries to restore health and well-being in people, the basic science of occupation only started to develop over the past three decades (Yerxa, Clark & Frank et al., 1990; Yerxa, 1993; (Frank, 2012; Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011; Wilcock, 2007), with the significance of this science highlighted as the bringing together of all aspects of what people need or are obligated to do to survive, or to experience health and well-being (Wilcock, 2007). Furthermore, occupational science includes foci on what people feel about the occupations they participate or engage in, how it affects their development and growth, how it influences their belonging in societies and cultures, and how it may be misunderstood (Wilcock, 2007).

The convictions of occupational science about the relationship between occupation, health and well-being are believed to belong to moral philosophy as much as to science, and obligate the science to address moral and political questions (Frank, 2012). The concept of *occupational justice* developed in occupational science as a vehicle to consider and address issues of access and opportunity to participate and engage in subjectively meaningful occupations that are to be chosen freely from an array of equally available occupations (Alheresh, Bryant & Holm, 2013). As a justice of difference, occupational justice recognises the right of all persons to participate and engage in meaningful, health-giving occupations, regardless of differences in age, ability, gender, social

class, or any other differences (Nilsson & Townsend, 2010). It has been separated from social justice as the distinction between giving everyone "something to do" (which adheres to the social justice ideals of fairness, equality and respect, and promotes survival) and a more sophisticated consideration of the meaningfulness of "something to do" in order for people to thrive, which would constitute occupational justice (Alheresh, Bryant & Holm, 2013, p. 4). Shifting this research's perspective to participation in occupation (occupational justice) as opposed to participation in society (social justice), would assist in identifying specific barriers that prevent participation in the occupation of work (Hocking, 2017). An occupational justice focus furthermore puts emphasis on the capability of participating in work rather than participation being merely based on availability of work, and provides a language within which to frame actions for better inclusivity and well-being (Hocking, 2017).

While a conceptualisation of occupational justice demands equal access to occupational opportunities, it also recognises that the availability of and access to a selection of occupational opportunities are not insulated from policy contexts, and that occupational choices are exerted within these contexts (Durocher, Gibson & Rappolt, 2014). When policy contexts somehow restrict or deny access and opportunity to a selection of meaningful occupations, an occupational injustice is visited upon the people who cannot exert choice, or are restricted in their choice, for occupational participation. Different forms of occupational injustice may result from such restrictions, for example occupational deprivation (preclusion from engagement in necessary or meaningful occupations) or occupational marginalisation (exclusion from occupational participation based on covert norms and expectations about who should participate in what occupations, how they should participate, and when, where and why) (Durocher, Gibson & Rappolt, 2014).

Townsend and Wilcock suggest that an occupational justice framework be used to uncover and examine sources of, or processes that lead to, occupational injustice, in order to inform solutions to social disparities (2004). Such a framework, developed by Stadnyk, Townsend and Wilcock, broadly illustrates how structural and contextual factors influence situations of occupational justice and –injustice by either hindering or advancing the execution of occupational rights, with a subsequent impact on occupational outcomes (Durocher, Gibson & Rappolt, 2014).

I selected an occupational justice perspective to guide the design, execution and data analysis of this study for its view on and acknowledgement of macro-level influencers on situations where disparity evidently prevails. Chapters 1 (Introduction) and 2 (Literature Review) of this dissertation reflect the disparate employment situations between youth with disabilities and youth without disabilities, and the South African workforce in general. The socio-cultural and political sensitivity of an occupational justice lens promoted my understanding of issues that may affect the work transition of youth with disabilities as a disadvantaged minority group. My understanding of these influencers would necessarily precede the formulation of efforts to counteract systems, policies and practices that may support and perpetuate work transition disparities for this group.

An occupational justice perspective was, furthermore, identified as an appropriate view to further my understanding of work disparities for vulnerable groups transitioning into work (Shaw et al., 2012). As such, this perspective can be used to effectively guide scrutiny of the concept of disability as it manifests in the labour context of South African society. I posit that the perspective invites consideration of the complexities of a medical model of disability versus a social model of disability, within a context driven by demand and supply forces, economic empowerment directives by government, and a capitalist marketplace. Simultaneously, an occupational justice lens supports a focussed perspective on employment opportunities and outcomes experienced by youth with disabilities, generating contributions towards refinement of occupational justice concepts.

3.2 A critical occupational perspective of work transition

The significance of occupational transitions are brought to the fore by the life course perspective considered in occupational science, for its focus on the impact of times of change on outcomes (Shaw & Rudman, 2009). Shaw and Rudman propose that, in lieu of individual perspectives and experiences of occupational transitions, it is time to consider the embeddedness of such transitions in socio-cultural contexts, and the influences of system factors on transitions. They suggest that research into occupational transitions should be advanced by considering micro as well as macro-levels of context or influence, and that such research should contemplate the interaction between levels so as to contribute to a body of knowledge on what moves people

forward (or prevent them from moving forward) through change to where they want to go (Shaw & Rudman, 2009).

This same life course approach is recommended to create understanding of work as a dynamic occupation in society (Shaw et al., 2012). An emphasis on work transitions creates understanding about the intersections of constraints and barriers for people with disabilities moving into employment, and the influences of societal expectations of work participation of this group in an evolving world of work (Shaw et al., 2012).

Work comprises an array of activities that are performed for the benefit of others as well as for the benefit of the person performing it. In occupational therapy, work was the first activity of daily living to be utilised for its therapeutic value (Harvey-Krefting, 1985), albeit not paid work at the time. The meaning of work has been explored and researched for decades, even before occupational therapists used it in practice (Blank, Harries & Reynolds, 2013; Boardman, 2003; Caudron, 1997; Leufstadius, Eklund & Erlandsson, 2009; Morin, 2004; Van Niekerk, 2009; Wiltshire, 2016), and it has been confirmed as a central activity for a major portion of the human development spectrum (Blustein, 2008). The prominence of work as human occupation rationalises the focus of this study, especially if access to work appears to be reserved for certain population groups, and thus also the associated benefits of work. It is generally known and accepted that the construction, structure and meaning of work in any society are linked to and influenced by political, social, cultural and economic changes (Shaw & Rudman, 2009).

While an occupational justice perspective offers a foundation for exploring macro-level factors that may be intersecting with or constraining opportunities for youth with disabilities to participate in work, such factors and their influences may not be easily seen or linked to the underlying assumptions in practice environments. For instance, employers, as representatives of society, may be bound by law to make employment opportunities available to people with disabilities, but such opportunities may not always materialise in practice. The reasons for this may be multi-faceted. An understanding of these different facets is needed, which could be developed by critically examining the manifestations of macro-informed norms in micro-environments where work transition takes place or becomes constrained.

With the objective of bringing social change, and positing that sustainable change for the better can only be achieved when underlying, intangible influences are examined and liberated (problematised), I identified that a critical view of the data would be needed in order to highlight those influences that do not seem obvious, but could have an impact on the acquisition and exertion of power and choice in work transitions. Critical paradigms of thinking imply that the researcher remains suspicious of knowledge that is perceived to be and accepted as truth. Through its critical orientation, critical social theory concerns itself with unquestioned ideas and circumstances that reign in societies and culture, by exposing these and their influences (Hall, 2019). Critical disability theory recognises that hegemonic societal norms dictate people with disabilities' social conditions, and attempts to scrutinise the underlying ideologies to these norms in order to disrupt them and discover or create knowledge in support of justice for people with disabilities (Hall, 2019). Taking influence from the critical paradigm, a critical occupational lens on work transitions would focus attention on the underlying influences and forces that shape policy and practice in work to advantage some people's participation in work, and disadvantage other people's, for example youth with disabilities, participation. Without this critical view the influences of unquestioned individual or collective perceptions and actions by role players such as employers, employees and service providers in this arena may go unnoticed. The influences of conventional beliefs about disability and employment, for example, could permeate approaches and responses to work transition, resulting in a persistence of disparate practices, or sub-optimal transformation of practice.

A critical perspective of work transitions was therefore applied for its acknowledgement of and proposition to examine the socio-political context within which work is performed, related to and perceived (Njelesani, Gibson, Nixon, Cameron & Polatajko, 2013), and to promote the examination of implicit systems or structural issues that support work policies (Shaw et al., 2012) that govern work for youth with disabilities. This perspective informed the development of the research methodology, methods and processes, which will subsequently be described.

Chapter 4 : Methodology

This chapter motivates, describes and discusses the methodology employed to conduct the study. First, the critical ethnographic research strategy is rationalised, and the synergy with a critical occupational perspective on work transitions is highlighted. Next, the data generation process is described through detailing the research setting and the selection of research participants. The utilisation of data collection methods is explained, and a summary of each method is given. Ethical research principles and their application in this study are described, and finally, the phases of data analysis are explained.

4.1 Legitimising a critical ethnographic research strategy

Ethnographic research presents scholars with methods to scrutinise cultures and societies as part of the human experience, while the researcher acts as an involved element and not outside of the research process (Murchison, 2010). In ethnography the researcher is the primary research instrument, and the informants participate in collaborative partnership with him or her. Ethnography requires the researcher to attune himself or herself to the "non-obvious", and to think of the non-obvious as discoverable in order to not just take what is said by participants at face value, but to consider potential discrepancies between what people say and do (Murchison, 2010, p. 26). This focus on the non-obvious enables the researcher to engage with the complexities of multiple perspectives emerging from the study in order to get to the "inner workings" of lived human experiences in society and culture (p. 27).

Critical ethnography has a particular focus on, and aims to highlight, underlying issues of power and influence that are suspected to be present in culture or society, and influence human experiences and social outcomes (Madison, 2005). Critical approaches to research and practice promote interpretations of injustice with due consideration of societal and political influences beyond the control of the individual, rather than looking merely at individualistic interpretations of injustice (Farias, Rudman & Magalhães, 2016). Having foregrounded occupational justice as a

central construct in Chapter 3, I chose to also apply a critical ethnographic stance in this study to discover and illuminate "taken-for-granted assumptions" (Madison, 2005, p. 6) about access to and opportunity in work for youth with disabilities within the context of the programme which influence the conditions of existence of youth in relation to employment (Dutta, 2014). Having described the reality of unemployment for youth with disabilities and their exclusion from opportunities in the open labour market in Chapter 2, it seemed prudent to utilise a methodology that recognises that the contextual conditions of existence of youth with disabilities in relation to employment are not "what they could or should be" (Dutta, 2014, p. 93).

The aim of critical ethnographic research is to disrupt the status quo and challenge systems and regimes that marginalise or constrain, while constructing knowledge that privileges those who have been disadvantaged (Dutta, 2014). Critical ethnography thus has a political purpose (Thomas, 1993), positioning this type of ethnography appropriately within the realm of occupational justice ideology, and the knowledge uncovered during such research entails a moral and ethical responsibility to intervene (Dutta, 2014). As a group that has been systematically marginalised and disadvantaged in and by society (Farias, Rudman & Magalhães, 2016), youth with disabilities could be served through this critical viewpoint if we use the methods offered by critical ethnography to scrutinise socio-political influences that affect their occupational transition into work. The critical occupational perspective taken by this study brings the focus of the critical ethnography to the idea of work as a societally perceived and constructed resource that is manipulated and utilised by some, to the exclusion of others. The precision offered by the critical occupational perspective in the paradigm offered by the critical ethnographic approach would facilitate the unearthing of underlying influences and dynamics in work transition, as they pertain to youth with disabilities.

A critical orientation to knowledge, guided by a human interest in liberation, could therefore be used to reveal processes and conditions of oppression and domination that may be underlying to the uncontested social order of people with disabilities at the margins of employment (Morris, 2014). Problematising dominant ideas, for example that people with disabilities do not seek or prioritise employment opportunities equally to people without disabilities, is applied in critical theory as a means to challenge oppression and to incite social change (Morris, 2014).

4.2 Data generation

4.2.1 Research setting

The Western Cape Province of South Africa was identified as the research setting for the study. My practice as an occupational therapist is situated in this province, and my scope of influence in work transition practice and programmes is realistic and viable in this immediate area.

As a specific definition of work transition programmes does not exist in South Africa, the scope or operations of such programmes are not dictated or prescribed to include specific elements or activities. As such, services or programmes that aim to facilitate youth with disabilities into employment take diverse forms although they may share a common goal. Bearing in mind that decisions about people, settings and actions (in other words, sampling) occur in research because it is improbable that everything that transpires can be observed and recorded (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003), I demarcated programmes offered to people with disabilities under the auspices of the Department of Social Development as a sampling frame. I then utilised criterion sampling (Liamputtong, 2009) to select a work transition programme that had been operational in the Western Cape Province for almost ten years, and that served youth with disabilities by facilitating their entry into employment. This programme both represented and symbolised the necessary features of relevance to my investigation, enabling me to purposefully represent the character of the programme (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). Inclusion of this sole programme was justified by the novel research focus on occupational justice achieved through work transition in this context; my aim of doing deep research into this specific, contextually situated programme, rather than generating superficial information about more than one programme; and potentially diluting the findings about occupational justice in this way. I further projected that, due to the nature and richness of qualitative data to be discovered about previously unresearched concepts in our context (such as occupational justice and work transition in relation to one another), the expected

volume of data would suffice to answer the research question within the constraints brought on by timeframes and other resources.

4.2.2 Research participants

The selected programme served people with intellectual disabilities from surrounding, disadvantaged areas. While inclusion criteria for the programme did not stipulate that participants had to represent specific groups in society, the inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities begged consideration of discourses and tensions around vulnerability labels and infantilisation in relation to the social model of disability (Capri & Swartz, 2018; Capri, Abrahams, McKenzie et al., 2018). These considerations were incorporated in planning to conduct ethical research, and in synthesising the analysis of data.

Participants from within the programme were identified in collaboration with programme staff. I explained the selection criteria to the programme director and relied on his knowledge of the programme and staff to identify a programme officer who could contribute to the research through participation in interviews. The different participants, the inclusion criteria and methods of selection are summarised in Table 4.1.

The programme director was invited to participate but, because he had been in the position for less than a year, he advised that the previous director be invited too. More specifically, their differing backgrounds – the most recent director worked in the private business sector before and the previous director was a rehabilitation professional – and the discrepancy in the time period that they had respectively spent managing the programme, presented the opportunity to investigate their potentially diverse perspectives and consider their impact on concepts of occupational justice in the programme.

The job coach (a programme officer) further assisted me in selecting an employer to invite for participation, as well as two groups of youth with disabilities to participate in focus groups. Disability type had no bearing on the inclusion or exclusion of participants in the research, and the particular programme's definition of disability was adopted.

Table 4.1 Summary of participants, selection criteria and methods of selection

Participants	Rationale for choice	Inclusion criteria	N
Programme director A	As a source of knowledge and experience about managerial and executive aspects of the programme, insights about operations, background information (particularly the development of the programme) and foundational insights, including perspectives as a rehabilitation professional	No specific criteria	1
Programme director B	As a source of knowledge and experience about managerial and executive aspects of the programme, insights about operations, background information and foundational insights, including perspectives as a business person	No specific criteria	1
Programme officer (job coach)	As a source of knowledge and experience of operationalising the programme objectives, i.e. direct, hands-on delivery of the programme to programme participants	Must have been working in the programme for at least three years to ensure sufficient knowledge and experience of the operations	1
Employer	As a source of knowledge and information about programme operations from the perspective of a role player outside of the programme, but essential to the programme	Must have been collaborating with the programme for at least one year	1
Employed youth with disabilities	As a source of experiential knowledge about participation in the programme, work transition, and employment in the open labour market	14-35 years of age; must be able to express themselves (verbally or non-verbally) in a focus group interview situation	3
Unemployed youth with disabilities	As a source of experiential knowledge about participation in the programme	14-35 years of age; must be able to express themselves (verbally or non-verbally) in a focus group interview situation	11

4.2.3 Data collection

To develop an understanding of culture, ethnographers take an emic, "insider's" perspective that allows critical categories and meaning to emerge from the ethnographic encounter (Hoey, 2014, p. 2). Different sources of data need to be explored and methods of data collection employed to generate such an understanding (Hoey, 2014), while the researcher commits to prolonged exposure to the cultural setting of the research. I utilised the methods of documents review, individual interviews and focus group interviews for data collection. Table 4.2 summarises the number of data collection activities completed, and Figure 4.1 illustrates the period of engagement with the programme while data were being collected.

Table 4.2 Data collection activities

Participant	Activity	Total
	Documents reviewed	4
Programme directors	Individual interviews	4
Programme officer	Individual interviews	2
Employer	Individual interviews	2
Employed youth with disabilities	Focus group interviews	2
Unemployed youth with disabilities	Focus group interviews	3
Total documents reviewed		4
Total individual interviews		8
Total focus group interviews		5

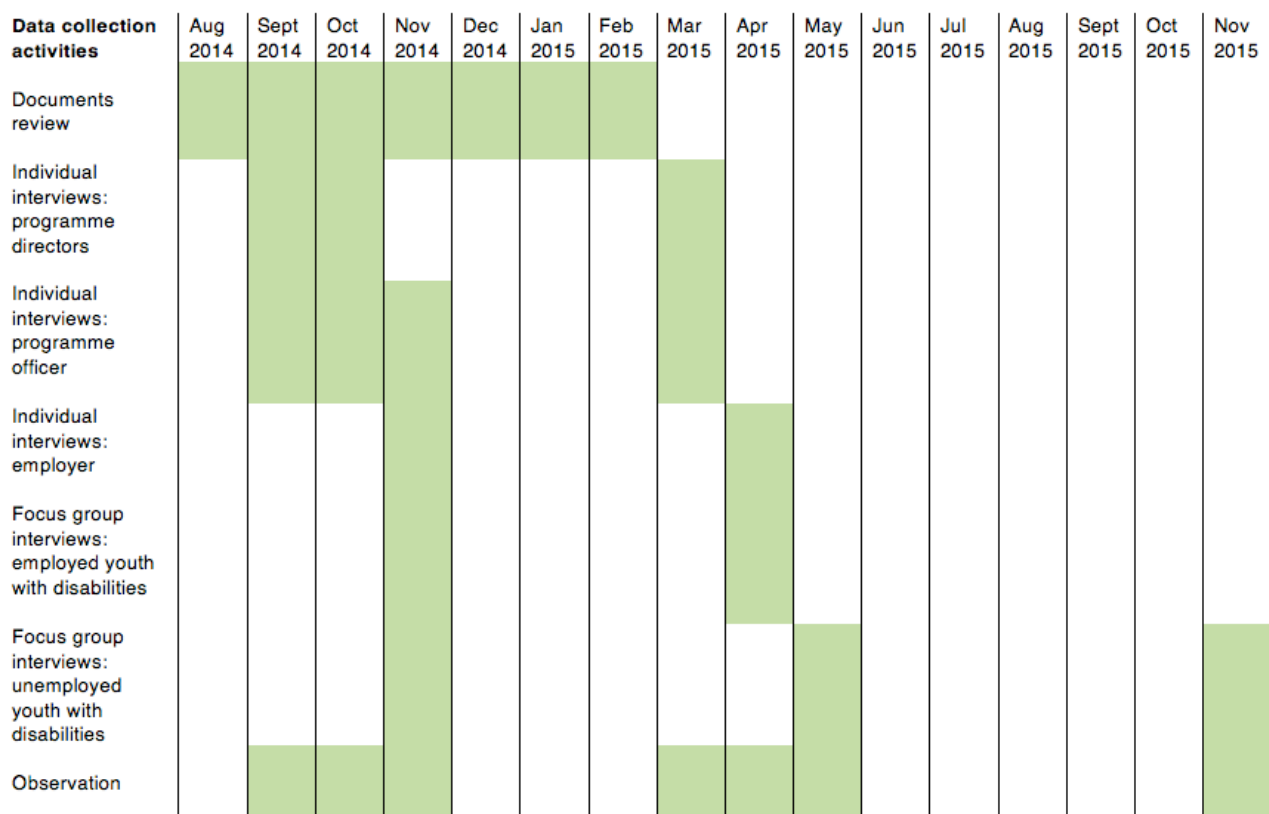


Figure 4.1 Duration of engagement with programme during data collection

4.2.3.1 Documents review

A documents review represents an inconspicuous method of data collection that is premised on the assumption that one can learn about society from the material items constructed within a culture (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). By scrutinising items such as texts produced by groups of people, it is possible to learn about the group's ideas, their world view and macro processes as reflected through these items (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). In support of the assumptions stated above, I selected documents review as a method to learn about the programme's history, context and background (Savin-Baden & Major, 2012) as documented by authors from within the programme. Through the potential of the documents review to reveal ideas or ideology and world views, it also served the purpose of informing the development of interview questions. Limited documents were available for inclusion, resulting in no documents being excluded from the review. The documents comprised a most recent annual report produced for the NGO under which the programme operated, a further annual report submitted to a regulatory

government department, a slide presentation used in reporting and marketing by the programme, and a human resources document.

4.2.3.2 Individual interviews

The meaning that people assign to or find in experiences and phenomena can be discovered in the language they use when personal accounts are relayed (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003). This makes interviews, listening to and talking with someone, instrumental for an ethnographer to develop an understanding of someone's viewpoints in the course of data collection as part of qualitative research. Specific features of unstructured interviews have contributed to their positioning at the centre of qualitative research, namely their flexible and interactive nature, the ability to achieve depth of information through different interviewing techniques, and the fact that data are generative while being captured in its natural form (Legard et al, 2003).

I conducted two interviews (an initial interview and a follow-up interview) each with the directors, the job coach and the employer over a period of six months. I developed topic guides (Addendum A) with overall themes for each of the initial interviews, guided by my interest in and expectations of the kind of knowledge, experiences and roles that each would have had in relation to the work transition programme. As such, questions to the directors were initially focused around the development of the programme, and challenges and achievements of the programme, while questions to the job coach and employer had a stronger focus on the operations of the programme. Interviews remained explorative, though, to support the aim of performing an inductive analysis, and I took direction from the interviewees, as I aimed to respond to issues raised that were relevant to them (Legard et al, 2003).

After each initial interview, time was allowed for transcription of the audio-recording of the interview and a first level of analysis of the text to be done, including assigning preliminary codes (Addendum B), before the follow-up interview was planned and scheduled. Using the emergent categories to guide this second conversation with each interviewee, the interview also served as a member-checking exercise to establish the level of veracity of my information (Morgan, 2011).

4.2.3.3 Focus group interviews

Focus groups as a data collection method generate qualitative information through group interaction about a topic that is determined by the researcher (Morgan, 1996). It is essentially a collective conversation or an informal discussion among a group of people selected to talk about a specific topic (Liamputtong, 2015), which then generates, through group interaction, data and insights that would be less accessible without group interaction (Flick, 2009; Morgan, 1996). Liamputtong argues that the collective nature of focus groups may particularly suit people with difficulty in articulating their thoughts, and the group context could provide collective power to marginalised groups.

I selected focus groups, therefore, as a method to gather data from the youth with disabilities served by the programme under study, i.e. youth with intellectual disabilities, to create a platform where individuals who, presumably, may be less verbal, could find safety and express their experiences and opinions to each other (Liamputtong, 2015), rather than to a lesser-known individual (myself). The focus groups assisted me in identifying and learning about some key issues related to work and work transition for these groups, as well as their ideas and concerns about work transition and disability, brought forward through the collectivity of the group (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Morgan, 1996).

I conducted five focus group interviews over the period of a year, with two distinct groups: youth who had transitioned into employment after participating in the work transition programme and youth who had not transitioned yet, but who were participating in the programme at the time of the research. In this way, two homogenous groups were created based on my assumption about shared, collective experiences between youth who had completed work transition and those who had not, aside from their suspected diverse or additional experiences.

4.2.3.3.1 Employed youth

The group of employed youth comprised three participants and participated in two focus group interviews – an initial and a follow-up group session. A moderator guide (Addendum C) was developed to provide direction to the topics and themes that I wanted to explore during the initial

session (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The follow-up focus group session included the use of visual aids consisting of drawings made by myself and the participants. Drawings were used as means of recapping and concretising information that participants shared, for two reasons: 1) participants were familiar with using these types of visual aids in their learning and working environments, for example in the form of pictures of surfaces on a cleaning checklist; 2) during the first phase of data analysis done in preparation for the follow-up focus groups, my interpretations of information started to produce abstract data which I needed to present in a concrete, visual way for participants in order for them to continue to contribute.

For each follow-up group (employed and unemployed), I prepared an interview guide based on first phase analysis of the transcripts from the first focus groups. I explained to the participants that we would be using drawings to assist us with furthering our conversations about their work transition and asked them each to pick a coloured marker for their drawings. My own drawings depicted the information shared by the participants previously, for example, the different pathways which they followed to the programme. The participants' drawings depicted details about the places where they worked, for example, people present in those places, objects, or tasks that they performed. I used their drawings as prompts to engage further on experiences, timelines, people, and other aspects suggested in their drawings. Using drawings in this way constituted a form of arts-based inquiry that recognises art as knowledge construction (Marshall, 2007) and was used as a method to facilitate understanding and elicit responses from the youth with intellectual disabilities (Addendum D).

The follow-up focus group interview was used both to explore information shared in the initial focus group, and to check the accuracy of information and interpretations gained in the initial group interview (member-checking).

4.2.3.3.2 Unemployed youth

The group of unemployed youth (n=11) participated in three focus group interviews instead of two. After the initial interview with this group, I considered the dynamics in and the size of the group, which included men (n=5) and women (n=6). The women's verbal participation was less,

seemingly due to the presence of the men who contributed more frequently. Women and men also generally performed separate work activities within the programme, which caused a natural segregation within the group. In order to facilitate more equal contributions and openness, I therefore conducted two follow-up focus group interviews: one with the men and one with the women.

The two groups of unemployed participants were significantly larger in numbers than the employed group. I therefore reasoned that using drawings as with the employed group would extend the time of the session unreasonably long, and opted to use printed pictures as visual aids (Ninomiya, 2017) to depict information shared by participants in the initial groups. Pictures depicted activities, people and concepts that participants talked about during the first group session. These visual aids served the purpose of reminding participants of the content of the previous group session, concretising information shared, checking information for the purpose of trustworthiness, and prompting participants to share further information (Addendum D). I attached the pictures to an initially empty poster and followed my interview guide to direct the session, while asking prompting questions about each picture to elicit further conversations and information from participants. Pictures were therefore used as reminders and prompts during the follow-up session, and similarly as memory prompts for myself during transcription of the focus group sessions. I did not analyse the visual aids in isolation from the audio transcripts, since the images were direct, concrete reflections of what was said in focus group sessions.

4.2.3.3 Supportive communication in focus groups

Focus group participants included English-speaking people, Afrikaans-speaking people and isiXhosa-speaking people. I am fluent in English and Afrikaans, but translators who could translate isiXhosa to English were present during the first focus group and the follow-up women's group interviews to assist with communication. There were no isiXhosa-speakers in the follow-up men's group interview.

The job coach was also present in a supportive capacity to the participants, as per the programme's principle to offer support in this form to youth with intellectual disabilities in the

programme. The job coach sometimes paraphrased questions for the participants and encouraged participants to contribute to conversations, making use of her close relationship with each participant and her experience in supporting people with intellectual disabilities.

4.2.3.4 Observation and reflective journalling

Observation is an essential data collection method where the research interest is in naturally occurring data, such as in an ethnographic study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Participant or direct observation, where the researcher observes the study population by becoming part of the population or setting, has been described as integral to ethnographic research for its ability to observe theory-in-action (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011; Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In this study, I did not use observation in a participatory event though, for a number of reasons; although "programmatic events" were discussed with the programme officer as naturally occurring events that could be utilised as data collection instances, the undue influence or effect of a participant observer in some of these situations was considered a threat to the ethical principle of avoiding harm. One such event was the initial job interview of a programme participant as part of work transition. The exposure of the youth as a person vulnerable to stress caused by a job interview situation with an observer present was deemed undesirable and unjust, and therefore avoided. The dynamic brought by an observer to a potentially nuanced situation where the programme is trying to establish a new partnership with an employer was further considered to be sensitive and potentially harmful towards the endeavour of partnering with an employer.

Other programmatic events were considered as participant observation opportunities, for example training situations within the programme, but during the data collection period these events either did not occur, or occurred in fragmented or unplanned instances without sufficient prior notification. The unemployed youth with disabilities had all completed the programme activities at the time of data collection, and were in a state of pre-transition. Their day-to-day activity in the workshop entailed participation in work tasks not directly associated with the programme, in this instance tasks directed at habituation and maintenance of work skills.

Observation of these tasks would therefore not have rendered data that had direct bearing on the work transition programme.

Observation as data collection therefore took place in the individual and focus group interview situations, and from my perspective as researcher who facilitated these sessions. In these instances, attention to the dynamics in group situations (also between youth with disabilities and the job coach), non-verbal forms of communication and intangible aspects enabled me to note behaviour and interactions as they occurred (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). I expressed these observations in reflective journalling done after the sessions. As opposed to recording field notes during my experiences in the programme, I opted to combine notes associated with interviews with my personal reflections on these (Murchison, 2010). Initial noting, reflecting and journalling were done as soon as possible after interviews (within a day) to ensure that observations were not forgotten.

4.3 Ethical data collection and research

Ethical approval to conduct data collection for the study was obtained from Stellenbosch University's Health Research Ethics Committee (Ref. no. S14/01/022). I considered the ethics of doing research with a vulnerable group carefully, so as to apply ethical principles that would protect young people with intellectual disabilities in particular, as well as the confidentiality of the service provider to this group. People with intellectual disabilities are at risk of harm due to their still evident disempowered position in society, reciprocating a loss of autonomy and the dynamic of infantilising communication (Capri & Swartz, 2018). It was therefore of extreme importance for me to design and conduct the study with sensitivity to potential harm to the participants by recognising the vulnerabilities of young people with intellectual disabilities, and balancing research methodologies and practices with appropriate ethical standards and the capabilities of participants (Taua, Neville & Hepworth, 2014). As such, I attempted to avoid transgressions of an ethical nature through implementing the following measures.

1. To protect the *privacy* of research participants:

1.1 I requested transcribers and translators to sign a confidentiality statement to the effect that they will protect the identities of participants and the organisation represented in audio-recordings of interviews as well as the groups they attended (Addendum E). Transcribers were further asked to delete all documents related to this research from their computers after transcription.

1.2 I discussed anonymity with participants and assigned pseudonyms to youth with disabilities who participated in focus group interviews, and to any person or other entity's name mentioned in interviews. The pseudonyms were then used throughout the research report to protect the identities of participants.

1.3 Due to the requirement of ethnographic research of in-depth, thick description of the context and details of the environment, protecting the identity of the selected programme cannot be guaranteed because of the limited number of similar programmes that operate in the province. This aspect, as it pertains to confidentiality, was noted in a comprehensive research information letter (Addendum F) to the Deputy Director of the organisation, and signed after discussion and further clarification with her. The organisation was thus made aware of the constraints to confidentiality posed by the methodology, and my undertaking to minimise risk as much as possible. The organisation also proposed their own agreement (Addendum G), stipulating that they be credited in any publications forthcoming from the research, but that the exact identity of the selected programme be omitted from such publications.

1.4 Data, including metadata (for instance interview dates, names of participants), were stored in electronic format on a password-protected computer, only accessible by myself. Text of the reviewed documents was available in electronic format and was therefore stored in computer files as well. The computer software programme Atlas.ti was then used to organise data electronically.

2. To protect the *dignity* and *autonomy* of research participants:

2.1 The Mental Health Care Act no. 17 of 2002 (specifically Section 8: Respect, human dignity and privacy; and Section 13: Disclosure of information) was used as a guiding foundation for designing an informed consent process and throughout the study in relation to research activities (National Department of Health, 2002).

2.2 I implemented a process, tailored to the different research participants, to ensure informed consent, as follows:

2.2.1 Participants without disabilities, i.e. the directors, job coach and employer, were presented with information letters (Addendum H) explaining the objectives and processes of the research, and they signed consent forms (Addendum I) signifying their understanding and willingness to participate in interviews.

2.2.2 Written consent from youth with disabilities was obtained at the beginning of the initial focus group interviews. Taua, Neville and Hepworth's (2014) recommendations for gathering consent from people with intellectual disabilities, were applied as follows:

2.2.2.1 Research objectives, research processes (including the focus group interview) and expectations from participants were communicated slowly and clearly in a location with minimal interruptions. Participants were, thus, verbally informed of the research objectives and the expectations in terms of their participation.

2.2.2.2 Concepts such as consent and the stipulation that their choice to participate remains voluntary and without consequence should they decide to withdraw were introduced one point at a time.

2.2.2.3 An appropriate level of language was used, as modelled by the job coach. The language capabilities of the participants were demonstrated to be equivalent to those of an average grade 4 to grade 6 learner.

2.2.2.4 The job coach, who has a longstanding relationship with participants, was briefed on explaining the above to participants, and her assistance was used in clarifying the goals of the research to the youth.

2.2.2.5 Sufficient time was allowed for the consent process to be completed.

3. To prevent *harm and negative impact* on research participants:

3.1 I identified and selected the method of focus group interviews with youth with disabilities for its potential contribution to the empowerment of this group from their perceived marginalised positions (Liamputtong, 2015).

3.2 During each focus group interview, the job coach, who is well known to the participants and who was or had been supporting the participants in their various jobs or programme activities, was present. The presence and availability of the job coach was negotiated at the onset of data collection, and presented as a necessity in terms of support to the participants who were seen as members of a particularly vulnerable group by virtue of their type of disability.

3.3 The programme's existing channels of communication and relationships were used to negotiate with the employer the availability of employed youth with disabilities to participate in the study. Accessing the employer via established relationship networks predisposed her to consider participation amicably, with less likelihood of her involvement having an impact on the research participants who were also her employees.

3.4 An hourly remuneration fee was negotiated and paid from research funds to the organisation for the support services of the job coach during group sessions. This was done according to the policy of the organisation related to research participation, and from my perspective as researcher, to compensate for the time of the job coach, which may have been spent elsewhere in support of other programme participants. The hourly fee was negotiated as appropriate and fair (Madison, 2005), based on the organisation's direction, the available research funding and consideration of market-related remuneration.

4.4 Data management

Managing the data entailed a meticulous process of transcriptions and quality checks. A transcriber with good typing skills and a strong quality control ability was employed to transcribe the recordings of individual interviews. Once I received the transcripts back from her in electronic format, I listened to the audio-recordings while reading through the transcripts and added pauses

that were evident in the recording. I checked and amended punctuation marks to ensure that scripts reflected verbal expressions and intonations more closely, and relied on my memory and notes of observation as interviewer to confirm the transcribed representations as much as possible. I used this process of listening and reading to check the overall quality of the transcript and corrected words or phrases that would have been difficult for the transcriber to hear without having been present in the interview situation.

The spoken English used in focus group interviews was transcribed by myself, and the spoken isiXhosa was transcribed and translated by an isiXhosa-speaking transcriber. This transcriber was also asked to listen to the audio recordings and to verify that the translations done by the translator who was present at the interviews were true to the spoken isiXhosa. I did verbatim transcriptions of the focus group interviews myself, as I anticipated that the group format would create difficulty for a transcriber to accurately indicate which participant was speaking or discern what participants were saying when more than one person spoke at the same time. Some participants spoke unclearly, or sat further away from the recording device. As the transcriber I was often able to identify the words that were used by such a participant because of my presence during the interview. The checked and corrected transcripts were uploaded to a computer software program (Atlas.ti) to assist with data organisation for the purpose of analysis.

Two of the follow-up focus group sessions (the follow-up session with the unemployed group of men and the follow-up session with the employed group) were not transcribed verbatim, but by using a combination of condensed transcription (Evers, 2011) and essence transcription (Dempster & Woods, 2011; Paulus, Lester, & Dempster, 2014). This entailed listening to the audio recordings and capturing (by writing down) the gist or essence of the statement that was being made by a participant, while in some cases transcribed statements still entailed a verbatim account from the participant. I elected to use this method of transcription as opposed to verbatim transcription because the participants in these groups often spoke in monosyllabic form, or used only phrases or partial sentences to express themselves. The form of these groups were influenced by the fact that they were follow-up group sessions and included more reporting from myself as researcher compared to the initial group sessions.

4.5 Analysing the data

I followed an exploratory analysis process (Stebbins, 2012) with inductive reasoning to allow for a combination of features in the data material to extend into an order or rule (Reichert, 2013). As such, concepts, topics or elements introduced by participants, for example re-entry into the programme after an exit from the open labour market, influenced and sometimes directed analysis, rather than analysis merely testing my research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Roulston, 2010). Analysis, thus, began with the first activities of data collection (for example the first focus group interviews), continued during and after subsequent data collection activities (for example, the follow-up focus group interviews) (Roulston, 2010), and eventually gave way to the main phase of data manipulation when data collection had been completed (Stebbins, 2012).

4.5.1 First phase analysis: coding and categorising

The data *corpus* of the study comprised all transcriptions from individual interviews and focus group interviews as well as text from documents included for review. Each transcript of an individual or focus group interview was approached as a data set for analysis, as was each document available for review. Content analysis of the available documents (Mayring, 2000) revealed information about philosophical foundations as well as past and present programme operations. I assigned codes to information in the documents, for example the code "job coach roles", and grouped the codes into categories.

Analysis of the transcripts was approached by reading through the uploaded versions once more and assigning codes. Codes already assigned during the content analysis of documents were considered and referenced where similar or oppositional representations were found in the transcripts. These codes were categorised to represent the first phase of analysis, and informed the development of follow-up interview guides. This process of thematic analysis generated codes and categories at a latent level of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013). This meant that I consistently identified underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualisations and ideologies that were expressed by participants in relation to concepts such as power, justice,

injustice, disability, work and youth. Thematic analysis provided the theoretically flexible method to search for and examine patterns across language (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

4.5.2 Second phase analysis: crystalizing categories and preliminary themes

A second phase of analysis commenced during the follow-up interviews and focus group interviews. Participants were presented with the categorised information from the first phase of analysis, and further information was gathered from their responses. Analysis of the transcripts allowed for further codes to be assigned to newly significant information, and for categories of information to manifest more clearly. I also reconsidered and reassigned codes based on new or revised interpretations of information, which in turn informed the further development of categories, the collapsing of some categories into others, and the development of sub-categories in some cases.

At this stage of the second phase of analysis, groups of categories started to be reflected emergent themes. I considered and documented these themes as preliminary.

4.5.3 Final phase analysis: theme development

To achieve a deep level of abstraction, I regarded emergent themes in a critically reflexive way by applying a critical occupational perspective to keep the occupation of work at the centre of my focus (Farias et al., 2016; Njelesani et al., 2013). I considered the presentation of privileged access to work opportunities and resources in opposition to the lack of access to such opportunities and resources as well as related concepts of power, as these seemed to manifest under the surface of identified themes. This approach highlighted issues and elements of the categories that reflected manifestations of occupational justice as perceived by the programme staff (service providers) and the programme participants (service users). This final level of abstraction required a deep level of analysis, where the research question was regarded in earnest: *how do work transition programmes promote occupational justice through employment for youth with disabilities, if at all?* This analysis was done with continued strict adherence to the

philosophy of occupational justice where undercurrents of socio-politics and power are brought to the fore, and viewed through a critical lens that mandates the naming of taken-for-granted truths and unspoken realities.

In retrospect, upon "completion" of analysis I realise that a persistent disquiet remains within me as the researcher. Thomas ascribed this disquiet to the fact that our findings are never final when we do critical ethnography, but "only partial and always subject to rethinking" (1993, p. 12), and in fact, if intellectual reflections are done well, that they create new ways of thinking. With this proviso in mind, the following two chapters will report the findings from the analytical process.

4.6 Ensuring trustworthiness

I ensured the trustworthiness of methodology by employing a number of strategies proposed to influence the rigour of the research. *Credibility* and *transferability* were safeguarded through method and data triangulation. I obtained data through different data collection methods (interviewing, focus groups, document reviews, and observation) and data sources provided multiple perspectives which could be triangulated (Howell, 2015). This triangulation of data across sources and methods made it possible to verify information, but also to uncover potential contradictions across data (Toma, 2006).

To further establish credibility I utilised member checking during follow-up interviews and focus group sessions by presenting information obtained and participants' constructions derived from initial sessions for confirmation (Lincoln, 2011). Member checking thus also took the form of testing emerging analytical categories and interpretations from my first phase of analysis (Toma, 2006).

Reflexivity was pursued by engaging in a pre-supposition interview with an experienced qualitative researcher, during which my interest in and motivation for conducting the study were interrogated. I transcribed the interview to revisit and reflect upon at different stages during the research process. The transcription was also used to guide the writing of the preamble to the thesis to situate and position myself as researcher with a socio-historical perspective on the situation under analysis (Howell, 2015). I created memos during data analysis reflective of different

levels of interpretation and critiqued these through theoretical perspectives of, for example, justice, power, and ideological positions (Howell, 2015).

My engagement with the programme spanned 11 months in total during which I utilised the different data collection methods and performed analyses on the data. Seale (2002), referring to Lincoln and Guba's criterion list for qualitative researchers, proposes prolonged engagement as a measure to ensure credibility of data and findings. During this period I also performed consistent observation in data collection activities, and rendered thick descriptions of the programme, context and research processes to improve *transferability* of my findings (Seale, 2002).

Confirmability of findings, meaning the extent to which the reported data can be traced to the original data sources (Lincoln, 2011), was established through consistent documentation of data, methods, and decisions that I made during the research process and creating an "audit trail" (Seale, 2002).

Chapter 5 : Introducing Utshintshe Work Transition Programme

This chapter introduces the work transition programme by positioning it in its organisational and local context. The programme's evolution over the past almost two decades is then detailed, as an important description of the past and current context. Finally, the programme's current operations and the profile of service-users are explained.

5.1 The context and background of Utshintshe

The Utshintshe¹ Work Transition Programme (Utshintshe) operates in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. This is the fourth largest province, with the lowest prevalence of disability (13,7%) out of the nine provinces in the country (Statistics South Africa, n.d.-a). The majority of people living in the Western Cape are Afrikaans speakers (46,6%), followed by isiXhosa (31,1%) and English (19,6%) (Statistics South Africa, n.d.-b). The province consists of five districts, and Utshintshe is found in the only metropolitan municipality district. This district reports the lowest prevalence of disability (6,0%) amongst the districts, although urbanisation continues to increase disability prevalence alongside a general increase in the urban population (Statistics South Africa, n.d.-b).

Utshintshe is one of the programmes offered under a project by the oldest mental health non-governmental organisation (NGO) in the country. This NGO's protective workshops² project (where Utshintshe is positioned) serves people with intellectual disabilities from disadvantaged areas in the metropole through life and work skills programmes and industrial-type contract work. The workshops project is funded by government subsidies (per person working in the workshop)

¹ Pseudonym, meaning "change" or "transition" in isiXhosa

² A facility that provides a day programme (including rehabilitation and work opportunities) to persons with disabilities who experience barriers to accessing open labour market employment (Terreblanche, 2015).

and revenue generated by the workshops themselves through contract work. Figure 5.1 illustrates the positioning of Utshintshe within the NGO.

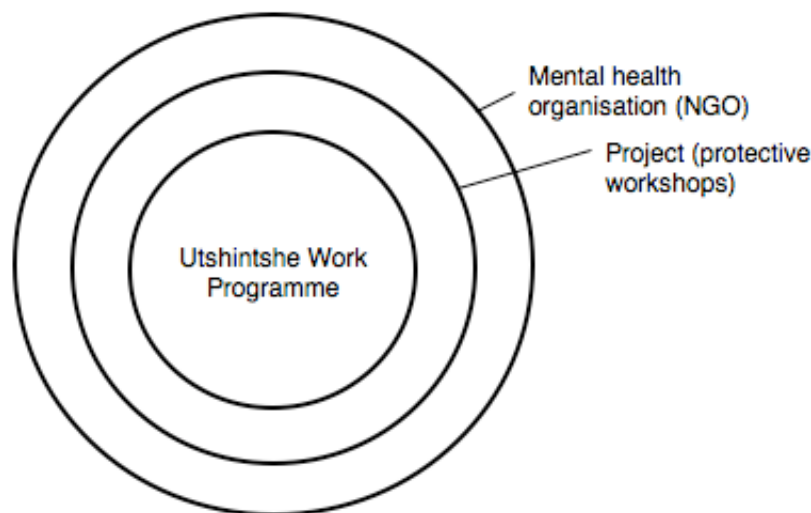


Figure 5.1 Utshintshe in context

5.2 The evolution of Utshintshe

The protective workshop model followed by the NGO was transformed in the early 2000s in accordance with a global trend towards recognising disability as a human rights issue. At the time, people with intellectual disabilities were viewed as "children for life" (Director A: quotation 7:77), unable to make decisions, represent themselves, or work. Progressive labour legislation and policies started to change the employment landscape for people with physical disabilities, but did not have the same effect on employment for people with mental disabilities. The existing workshop programmes reflected the societal view of people with intellectual disabilities and, as a result, failed to offer development opportunities for mental health service consumers. Director A explained the need for transformation at the time as follows:

Then we started seeing that these people, if they are just kept at a certain level and there isn't another challenge, then they lose interest or they just leave [and] stop attending [the workshop] ... They've now reached a point of saturation of what is

available in the workshop.

Quotation 7:58

The workshop model transformation saw this reputable NGO (with affiliations to national and international mental health federations) articulating a mandate of promoting quality of life for people with mental disabilities, and challenging socially restrictive and discriminatory practices that affect people with mental disabilities. The NGO made clear their subscription to a philosophy of self-representation and empowered consumers to represent themselves at the organisation's executive level.

Utshintshe was borne from these changes as a bridging programme for the consumers in the workshop to transition into open labour market work by using a Supported Employment (SE) approach. The programme evolved over a period of a decade though, as its approaches and strategies were dictated by available government funding sources and mechanisms. Figure 5.2 represents this development in a diagram.

The first version of the programme, Utshintshe-1, strategically employed resources made available through the government's Skills Development Strategy by aligning the programme's objectives and operations with this strategy. A governmental youth agency provided the funding for Utshintshe-1 to develop theoretical and practical components of the programme that would facilitate the programme's youth into open labour market employment situations, with support and follow-up from job coaches. The programme developers identified commercial cleaning and hygiene practice as an appropriate area of training and work for workshop attendees, and focused their efforts on developing such placements.

A primary objective of Utshintshe-1 was to "prove that people with intellectual disabilities *can* work, and that they *can* master a skill" (Director A: quotation 7:93), a sentiment that was met with incredulity by public stakeholders. Despite employer and public reservations about the mission of Utshintshe-1, the director noted how "fears" about people with disabilities were waylaid when youth with intellectual disabilities worked alongside people without disabilities in public workplaces (quotation 7:94).

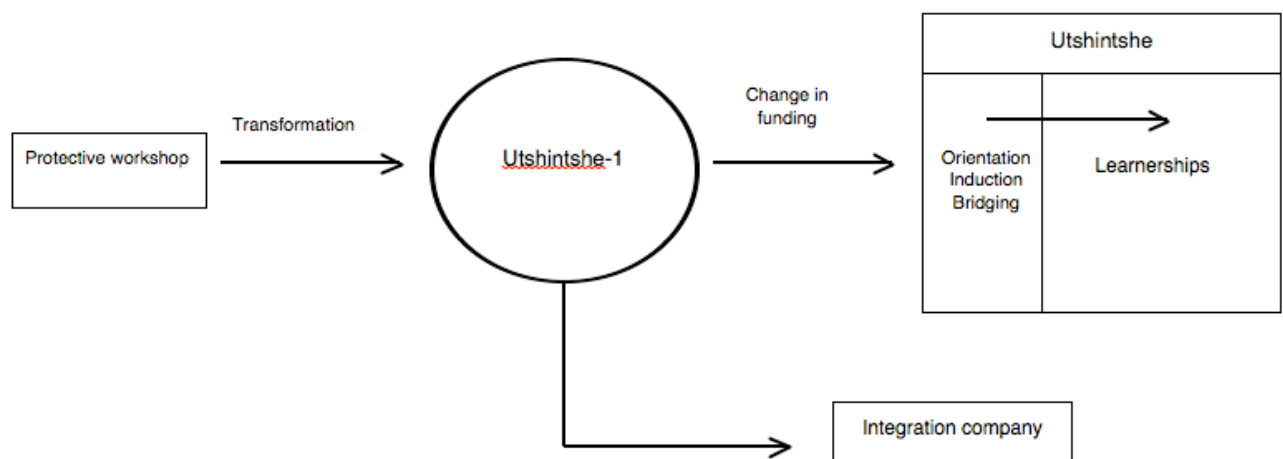


Figure 5.2 The development of Utshintshe

The available funding provided for the development of accessible learning material for youth participants, monthly stipends to workers, and job coaches' salaries. Participation in Utshintshe-1 entailed 24 months of training and rotations in practical work placements. One day per week was spent in training at the workshop and four days per week at work. The funding model employed by Utshintshe-1 meant that employers did not have the responsibility to pay salaries to youth with disabilities and job coaches acted like intermediaries in terms of supervision and support to the youth. As such, Utshintshe-1 retained most of the responsibilities for managing the youth with disabilities in their role as workers, as explained here by Director A:

Because it was never their employee, the person always remained on [Utshintshe-1's] register. We paid the stipends and all of those things. So [Utshintshe-1] was definitely an interim project that left less responsibility with the [employer], and that is also why [employers] were willing to take that chance, because they knew, firstly, that we will take the worker away if a situation arises that they could not handle...it was not their responsibility. There was no direct contract between the employer and the worker; the contract was with [Utshintshe-1] as the go-between.

Quotation 22:8

Director B described these early work situations as "artificial" because of the lack of responsibility taken on by the employers (quotation 27:48). Despite this design, productive working relationships did develop between workers and employers in some cases, and once workers had performed satisfactorily for a period of three months, employers reportedly objected to their rotation to a different placement site and expressed a desire to employ the person even before the programme had been completed. Many programme participants obtained permanent employment at these workplaces upon completion of Utshintshe-1, which Director A ascribed to the workplace's direct experience of the work abilities of these participants.

Utshintshe-1 continued to expand in size and reach in the province³, and facilitated the successful transition of more than 60% of participants into employment every year. At the time of this study (11 years after the final cycle of Utshintshe-1), some workers were still employed at the workplaces where they had completed practical placements. The job coach described this early format of the programme as "unique" (quotation 27:45), and some research participants referred to Utshintshe-1 with predilection when compared to more recent transition mechanisms used by Utshintshe. A by-product of youth transitioning into work was the inspiration drawn by workshop attendees who had not participated in the programme yet, as the following quote explains:

It's not as if [workshop participants] had reached their maximum potential yet... [in fact], it is that they could see that that ceiling had been removed! 'Now I can dream...I see that it has worked for someone else. Previously I may have been too scared to participate in [Utshintshe-1], but it has worked for others and they are better off, so I also want to be part of that group'.

Director A: quotation 22:12

³ Another initiative that developed from Utshintshe-1 was an integration company that operates as a form of enclave employment, and employs up to 15 people with intellectual disabilities. They perform contract-cleaning work and the workers are paid market-related wages, while a staff member of the organisation supervises them and a job coach is dedicated to their support. Employment with the integration company was not considered in the scope of this study, as the focus was on permanent employment in the open labour market.

After six years of Utshintshe-1 being operational, funding by the youth agency was suddenly withdrawn and the organisation had to search for new funding sources to continue with the programme.

5.3 Current operations of Utshintshe

The programme designers identified that resources created by the government's Skills Development Strategy were still appropriate for the purposes of Utshintshe, which is to expose people with intellectual disabilities from surrounding disadvantaged communities to open labour market employment and assist them with transitioning into sustainable employment. Learnerships as a mechanism for skills development and work transition emerged as an option to continue with the programme operations, and the programme directors and the NGO pursued this avenue. With learnerships as the mechanism for work transition, the following required Utshintshe's operations to change:

- the duration of the practical work experience component was dependent upon timelines set by the SETA, ranging from six months to a year;
- work placements were done in-house at some of the 22 projects run by the NGO, as opposed to other organisations (the option of partnering with wider employing organisations fell away without the necessary funding mechanism to reduce perceived risk for employers);
- separate funding needed to be secured for the bridging-portion of the programme (which included induction and orientation of youth) that prepared youth to enter the learnership; and
- Utshintshe's operations had been reduced to serve local programme participants only, and the capacity built in the wider province stagnated or was lost.

The focus area of Utshintshe remained capacitating programme participants to work transition into commercial environments as cleaners while a few programme participants had also completed administration-related learnerships or a sewing learnership. However, learnerships as

the primary mechanism to facilitate work transition for programme participants have posed unique challenges to Utshintshe over the past eight years.

Accessing funding available through learnerships entails annual funding applications to the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs). The allocation of the funding is unpredictable from one year to the next, and the operations of Utshintshe have had to remain flexible and dynamic to fit the objectives of the funding. A crucial element to the success and sustainability of Utshintshe's programme is the support and facilitation function fulfilled by the job coaches. Their salaries are not always covered by funding from the SETAs, the lack of which poses a threat to Utshintshe's sustainability and the ethical commitment to appropriately support youth with intellectual disabilities in work transition.

Despite the above challenges, Utshintshe continues to promote a person-centered approach to programme participants, and remains cognisant of the rights, expressed needs and aspirations of their consumers. The following quotes illustrate the programme's consideration of these aspects:

"[] All people [] with intellectual disability have the right to work, but they don't necessarily have the same aspirations to work. It depends on their level of participation [] and their level of understanding of the world around them. Some of them have aspirations to become just a little bit more independent [in their work tasks at the workshop]."

Director A: quotation 22:31

"So if [the workshop participant's] aspiration is not to work in the open labour market or to be an entrepreneur or to do production work, then don't try to push [them] into it just because [the service provider] believe[s] that that is right for [them]."

Director A: quotation 22:51

5.4 Youth with disabilities at Utshintshe (the service users)

Service users of Utshintshe come from Learners with Special Educational Needs (LSEN) schools and from mainstream schools. Some youth had completed or exited school and had been staying at home when they were introduced to Utshintshe; others transitioned directly from school into the workshop where Utshintshe is offered. Most of the service users who participated in the research had participated in Utshintshe-1 as well as its subsequent format. Some had only participated in the recent format of the Utshintshe programme.

The youth with disabilities who were regarded as unemployed for the inclusion in this study worked in the protective workshop environment or in the integration company. The jobs they performed in the workshop included cleaning of office areas and toilets, and the factory-type contract work for businesses. Jobs for the integration company included mowing lawns and cleaning carpets in private homes. The group of employed youth worked at an early learning centre and a church in the community. Two of the youth performed cleaning and maintenance jobs, and served food to the children who attend the early learning centre. The third participant did a variety of tasks, including cleaning and gardening, at the church.

Having delineated the context of Utshintshe and the service users in the programme, the next chapter will report the findings and analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 6 : Findings and Analysis

In this chapter, the research findings are described in relation to the research objectives. Three main themes that were identified as reflective of the research participants' contributions and reviewed documents are presented. These themes, *Along the way towards occupational justice*, *Working "outside"*, and *Supported Employment as a counter to occupational injustice*, respond to the research objectives that focused on the exploration of perspectives and experiences of occupational justice through work by youth with disabilities who participated in the work transition programme. Figure 5.1 depicts the themes and related categories developed through analysis.

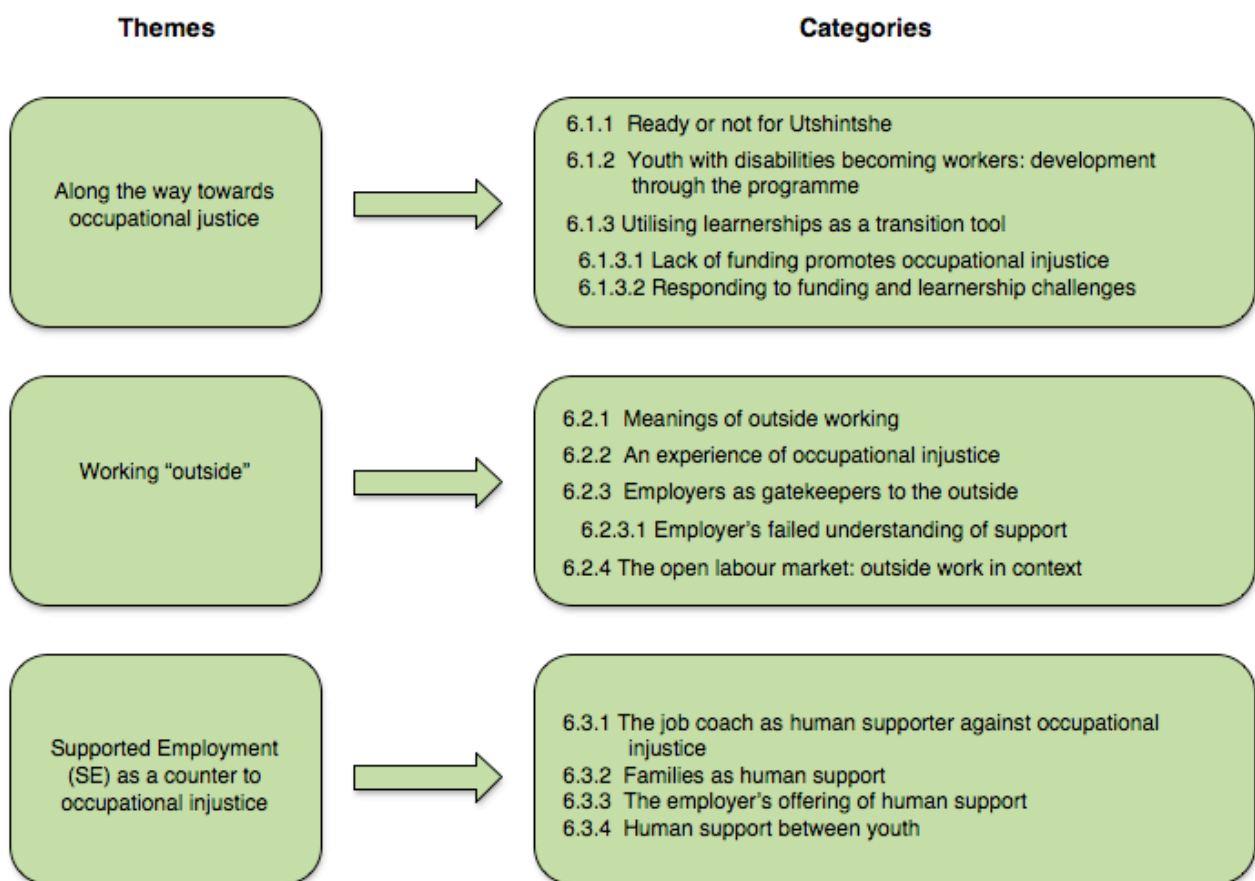


Figure 6.1 Themes and categories

To address the objective of analysing the manifestation of occupational justice in the different elements of the programme, an occupational justice framework will be considered in the interpretation of findings.

6.1 Theme I – Along the way towards occupational justice

The first theme developed from data about the trajectory set by the work transition programme toward occupational justice through work. It reports factors that affected youth's transition into Utshintshe and the often non-linear paths they followed into the programme, through the programme and after exiting the programme. The implications of different ways of transitioning in, through and out of Utshintshe are recorded and considered according to three categories under the headings *Ready or not for Utshintshe*, *Youth with disabilities becoming workers: development through the programme* and *Utilising learnerships as a transition tool*.

6.1.1 Ready or not for Utshintshe

This category includes data about the entry of youth with disabilities into Utshintshe and their associated readiness to participate in work transition. Some youth came from LSEN schools and some from mainstream schools. Others accessed the programme after having exited school and spending a period of time at home.

Director A relayed a problematic relationship between Utshintshe and some LSEN schools who, in her experience, offered a mismatched, unsupported work transition experience to youth, culminating in a delayed trajectory toward occupational justice through work. She specifically expressed concern about the practices in some schools where learners with disabilities are facilitated into "job shadowing" experiences at open labour market workplaces (quotation 22:22). If shadowing opportunities led to employment, youth work transitioned without job coach support from the school or any other sources and, should the employment endeavours then fail, she described the consequences as having a direct bearing on transitioning into Utshintshe:

[The youth with disabilities] are fairly scared of going through that again ... "No, been there, done that. We are happy at the workshop. We don't want to go again. It wasn't nice"... because there was no support.

Quotation 22:22

In her conclusion, she proposed that youth from LSEN schools who had had negative work transition experiences became demotivated to transition again although they may have been selected for, and would have benefited from, participation in Utshintshe.

Other concerns raised by Director A include the lack of information forthcoming from LSEN schools regarding the youth's abilities and work performance, presumably because the programmes offered at the schools and approaches to work preparation do not focus on producing such information. She also shared a suspicion that workshops for people with disabilities were stigmatised by LSEN schools. She explained that the youth's entry into the work transition programme can be delayed for up to two years due to the above factors:

The person with the disability was dismissed [from work]. He or she had been sitting at home for a year or two, and always believed that a workshop is not for them, until they run into their friends from school who tell them that workshops aren't as bad, and then they come. Now they are two years behind. They have had a very bad experience ... Now they come back to the workshop and their confidence is so low that they have to start at a lower level than those who came directly from school. They have also become a bit more streetwise in the two years since they've left [school]. Often, the boys or men had some sort of run-in with gangs and that is why the parents now want him to join a structured day programme, because he is in danger now ... or he has been caught by the police for carrying a parcel for the gangs.

Director A: quotation 7:71

Director A's statements pointed to the impact that seemingly misaligned approaches and/or a lack of collaboration between LSEN schools and the programme could have on the attainment of

occupational justice for youth with disabilities. The preclusion of youth from work transition opportunities due to a failure to collaborate may perpetuate the occupational injustices that result from the youth's marginalisation from employment opportunities, their deprivation from work as a health-giving occupation, and the resultant imbalance due to a lack of work occupation in their daily lives.

Utshintshe responded to this perceived misalignment by urging LSEN schools to adapt their job-shadowing approach and include support to youth in workplaces, or not to "place them at all" (Director A: quotation 7:88). The NGO under whose auspices Utshintshe runs also reached out to influence the Department of Basic Education's development of a curriculum for LSEN schools that will graduate learners with a National Qualification Framework (NQF) Level 1⁴ qualification, proposing that this qualification should facilitate access for youth to work transition programmes and post-school training more readily.

The programme thus recognised the potentially unjust influence of systems and processes in the educational sector where youth with disabilities may attend schools, and has made attempts to engage these systems in order to improve work transition outcomes for these youth. As such, the programme's efforts should serve to counter occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities who come from LSEN schools by collaborating with the LSEN sector and enhancing the probability of youth transitioning into the open labour market.

Schools were not the only route, though, through which youth found entry into the work transition programme. Vuyani⁵, who was employed as a general worker at the time of the study, recounted that he was unemployed and at home when his mother convinced him to start attending the programme. He then progressed through the programme by first working with two trainers in the life skills group and then moving to the work skills group. A job coach then identified him as a candidate for Utshintshe-1, which created the opportunity for him to work in the community of

⁴ The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) sets national qualification standards according to different levels. NQF level 1 is the lowest level of a post-school qualification that someone can acquire, and is the equivalent of grade 9 at secondary school level.

⁵ Pseudonym

Gugulethu at an old-age home. When Utshintshe-1 closed, he once again returned to the workshop environment, but was selected by another job coach to participate in a learnership opportunity, and underwent training as a cleaner at Funda⁶.

After entering Utshintshe from home, Vuyani's journey draws attention to a work trajectory that includes an iterative pattern, in other words: exiting the workshop environment and transitioning into work, and then returning to the workshop and programme. Sharmaine⁷, who was participating in the programme and performed part-time casual work at the time of the study, mentioned a similar pattern. These youth relayed their experiences of exiting and re-entering the programme somewhat dispassionately, without a sense of distress or concern about returning to the programme activities after having been employed. It is possible that they had come to regard the workshop-bound programme environment as a safe and comfortable place to return to if employment becomes unavailable or is terminated for some reason. Their ease in recounting this work pattern in the presence of other youth in the focus groups further gave the impression that they did not fear judgement from others for exiting from employment, possibly because they realised that this is a shared experience among their peers in the group. Considering such an iterative pattern might be important in an argument about occupational justice and how the programme establishes or enhances occupational justice through work if the opportunity to return to the programme enables youth to participate in a new trajectory towards work transition.

6.1.2 Youth with disabilities becoming workers: development through the programme

After recounting their entry into Utshintshe, the youth reflected on development within themselves as people and as workers, as facilitated by the programme. They spoke about changes in their knowledge and beliefs about their work abilities, to the extent that the eventuality of work in

⁶ Funda is a training provider/skills institute that was linked to the learnerships. Their name has been changed for the purpose of this report.

⁷ Pseudonym

the open labour market was deemed a possibility for them, where they would not have regarded it as such previously.

Sharmaine and Precious⁸, two unemployed youth, started their accounts of their experiences in the programme with the following words: "When I came here, I knew nothing ..." (Precious, quotation 13:19) and "Me too, I knew nothing ..." (Sharmaine, quotation 13:21). Through her explanation that followed, Sharmaine recounted that she acquired knowledge about and skills in work tasks through exposure to programme activities as well as the job coach's belief in and facilitation of her participation in Utshintshe-1, and later in learnerships. She proclaimed having built confidence, and feeling less "scared" and "shy" (quotation 13:22) after participating in the programme, a sentiment then echoed by Precious. The two youths, thus, relayed a personal journey of change that was facilitated by the programme through the opportunities created within it, as well as by the people involved in the programme.

Vuyani and John⁹ respectively paid homage in particular to the people involved with the programme, whom they felt assisted them in developing self-knowledge and self-belief. For John, it was the occupational opportunity created by a co-worker (someone in a more senior position) who "chose" (quotation 8:6) him for a task that he was good at despite his personal limitation of not being able to read well. Referring to the job coaches, Vuyani in turn recounted:

They showed me, like, I'm not alone, like, I can do anything in the world. It doesn't matter that I'm disabled or what, I can do anything ... I can work also, ja.

Quotation 8:10

It appears that opportunities to develop and participate in work occupations were created by the programme, not just through regular training and participation in work activities, but through the belief conveyed to the youth by people, specifically the job coaches, about their abilities to perform

⁸ Pseudonym

⁹ Pseudonym

and succeed. As such, the development of self-knowledge, confidence and self-belief may have influenced the youth's propensity for participation in work, negating a degree of occupational marginalisation caused by exclusion from work.

Data obtained from participating staff members suggest that the design and delivery of the different programme aspects may have informed these experiences by youth of being developed, growing and becoming more knowledgeable and confident as workers through Utshintshe's directed responses and sensitivity towards workers' needs. Director A, who was intimately involved with the design of the programme, attested to its philosophical foundations, which support a human rights approach to disability. A documented presentation used by the organisation for marketing and reporting introduces its content with the title "Equal rights for equal citizens" (document excerpt 1:1), and stipulates the organisation's mandate to include "challenging socially restrictive and discriminatory practices affecting people with mental health through advocacy" (document excerpt 1:7).

Utshintshe's foundations and guiding values, therefore, seem to be grounded in a philosophy supportive of a social model of disability, which may have contributed to its ability to shape a responsive programme that steers towards better equity outcomes, in this case employment equity, for youth with disabilities.

Other data sources highlight more ways in which the programme has shown expert knowledge about the specific disability of the participating youth, and has remained responsive and sensitive to the participants' needs and abilities as workers. The presentation referred to before (document 1), for example, includes adapted agendas and minutes for use by youth with intellectual disabilities to "facilitate effective participation" (document excerpt 1:14) in work meetings. Another example of accommodating the abilities of, specifically, youth with intellectual disabilities, was the adaptations made by the job coach to training material in order to promote access to learning in learnerships.

To accommodate the youth's impairment in adaptability (dealing with change), the implementation of Utshintshe-1 entailed graded exposure to independence in the workplace whereby workers were placed in groups and the size of the group was gradually decreased as

workers rotated through placements. All throughout, the job coach participating in the research explained how the programme facilitated the involvement of and collaboration with the family of the youth in recognition of the importance of guardians as support sources to youth with intellectual disabilities.

A significant example of Utshintshe's attempts to remain responsive to the youth's needs, and to operate a programme with realistic possibilities for youth to develop and work transition, was the programme directors' engagement with funders (specifically SETAs) to educate them about the classification of job coaches as assistive devices for youth with intellectual disabilities in order to secure sufficient funds to pay for the services of job coaches. Assistive devices had up to that point only included physical devices, for example wheelchairs, and not human support. Approval to apply funds for assistive devices towards salaries for job coaches was only given in the case of one specific project in 2014, though, and the programme has had to continue to engage with funders in this regard in the years since.

The youth's experiences of self- and work development in the programme may have been made possible by the approaches and responses of Utshintshe, which manifest in the way that the youth are regarded by the job coaches as well as elements in the design of the programme that effectively accommodate and respond to the abilities of youth with intellectual disabilities in particular. The programme, in as such, appears to be shaping an experience by the youth that enables them to consider work transition into the open labour market as a viable possibility for them and, in fact, for work transition to realise for them. Whether transition eventually occurs or not, one could argue that the motivation, belief and desire to transition into work that are evoked in the youth diminish occupational marginalisation through occupational opportunities. Creating a trajectory towards the open labour market, a path that may not have existed before, may in itself contribute to occupational justice.

Staff members acknowledged, though, that the mismatch between the labour market and these youth is aggravated by multiple factors. One of these factors is the programme's perceived inability to prepare youth with disabilities effectively for open labour market work. Director B felt that, although Utshintshe excels in equipping youth with life and social skills, it falls short in helping

them to achieve industry productivity standards. He surmised that Utshintshe may not be offering employers what they need from a worker, as "the programme does not understand the employer needs out there" (Director B, quotation 34:5). Considering such expectations from youth with intellectual disabilities in relation to industry standards is important in reflections on occupational justice. Assuming that a societal conceptualisation of work is influenced by "industry standards" of productivity, and vice versa, a limited view of what constitutes "work" and "a worker", may contribute to or perpetuate the disjuncture between these youths' offering and the demands of the open labour market.

To clarify this point, a statement by Director B could be used as an example: "Are you able to do the job at the right time, at the right quality, at the right cost?" (quotation 34:36). With these questions, Director B is interrogating the ability of one youth with a disability to perform one industry job according to the standards required by the employer. In a potential response to such interrogation, Director A draws attention to the unilateral interpretation of what "right" might be by proposing that youth with a lower production ability should be allowed to work at their level in a job that is "right" for that person. Her proposal suggests that a job be created for someone with, for example, 20% productivity (according to industry norms), who then works for one fifth of the work day. Her proposal then implies the creation of a second job for another person with an intellectual disability who may be able to produce at 80%, and works for four fifths of the work day. The conception of one person one job as a measure of productivity may be an impeding factor in terms of the right to work of youth with disabilities. The effect on occupational justice for youth with disabilities is negative when conceptualisations of work and productivity are not challenged, because the current norms set by the open labour market exclude or marginalise youth with disabilities from entering such a market.

With industry norms in mind, some staff members further believed that the types of jobs available to youth with disabilities as part of programme activities, for example working at one of the NGO's projects, are not optimal. Director B felt that these job placements, by virtue of them being in the not-for-profit sector, cannot offer "real income" or opportunities for development (quotation 27:67), rendering the jobs less meaningful to youth with disabilities. The job coach

added her concern that job placements at the NGO's in-house projects are "inward" and "secluded" (quotation 30:25), with no scope for sustainable future employment opportunities. Such concerns are important to consider if the attainment of occupational justice for the youth is premised. It is unclear from the data what informed Director B's perception about what constitutes meaningful work for youth with intellectual disabilities, and whether his measure of meaningfulness can be applied to the youth. Similarly, the job coach's regard of work performed in an NGO environment as not equivalent or equal to open labour market work, may be informed by her personal perceptions of work in the different sectors. Contrary to these views, I posit that the NGO sector may, due to its work norms and objectives being different from the business sector, be particularly suited to offer work opportunities to youth with intellectual disabilities. Operating in this sector as part of Utshintshe may therefore have contributed to the attainment of occupational justice for youth with intellectual disabilities, because of its countereffect on occupational marginalisation.

6.1.3 Utilising learnerships as a transition tool

Learnerships featured prominently as a work transition mechanism at Utshintse. Learnership programmes are state-funded learning programmes with a work experience component aimed at developing skills of workers while in work, and increasing employability in response to industry needs. The youths in the focus groups listed the different types of learnerships they had participated in, and mentioned the training component of learnerships as instrumental in their development of work skills. All youth who participated in the research had completed at least one learnership as part of the work transition programme, which means that the three employed youth had transitioned into open labour market work after participating in learnerships.

As a mechanism made available through the government's skills development strategy, the work transition programme has been utilising learnerships as its main vehicle to effect work transition for youth with intellectual disabilities. However, staff members lamented the shortcomings they perceived to be barriers. Director A explained how poor administrative

processes and management by SETAs caused frustration and delays in applications to, and operations of learnerships:

You won't believe how many times I've had to send extra information by now, and it is stuff that the SETA already has. We were under the impression that [the learnership] was going to be finalised by January already. They've never told us "no", just "send this as well" and "send this too". So it makes you a bit tired, because you put an unbelievable amount of work in and send an incredible amount of information through to them, for example for all 100 candidates we had to send in their highest academic qualification. Many of them don't have it, they just have an attendance certificate ... there's no qualification if you've been in an LSEN school. So then they have to go to the police for an affidavit stating: "I was in an LSEN school, I don't have an academic qualification." Then they had to send a proof of address. That was most difficult for our group home, because the owner or the head of the house has to supply a letter. And they don't accept a letter from [our] organisation stating that it is our home that the people are living in. We also had to get proof of bank accounts, and that was quite a challenge because, again, many of [the youth with disabilities] do not fulfil the requirements for FICA¹⁰. Then we also had to send copies of their identity documents and all of those things. So it was a huge exercise to prepare [the documentation] for 100 people and to send it off. Now you send it, you work extremely hard and you send it and then you wait again. Then [the SETA] gets back to you and they ask more [information] ... then they asked for curriculum vitae of all 100 [within two working days].

Quotation 22:23

The director expressed concern about the influence of this flawed system on the specific population of youth (youth with intellectual disabilities), in that even a preliminary conversation about participating in a learnership creates expectation with the youth. Elaborate and prolonged waiting periods for feedback from SETAs then cause the youth to lose motivation and become

¹⁰ The Financial Intelligence Centre Act no. 38 of 2001

despondent. The programme itself battled the inconsistent and unpredictable availability of learnership opportunities to further their work transition ideals.

It would appear that, while the programme has identified learnerships as a way to effect work transitions, the current systems of learnership administration may promote occupational injustice through poor quality operations, preventing youth with disabilities from accessing work, and confining them to the margins of occupational opportunities if administrative barriers cannot be overcome.

Other limitations imposed by learnerships extended to restrictive and unaccommodating unit standards¹¹, resulting in the prevention of these youth from obtaining full qualifications. The job coach, who usually assists training providers with the adaptation of learning materials, explained how unit standards caused exclusion:

Although it's a practical kind of qualification, there is still a lot of English and math that our guys cannot [do] ... because they struggle with literacy and numeracy and [it is because] they have this disability, because they just can't conceptualise those things, and SETAs cannot get their mind around that yet.

Quotation 24:26

Here, an occupational injustice is imposed on a youth when reasonable accommodation measures that would enable the youth to obtain a full qualification are not applied. The job coach points out that a particular qualification is of a practical nature, but that the attainment of certain credits towards the qualification relies on a youth's literacy and numeracy ability. While these abilities are impaired in youth with intellectual disabilities, the SETA (and by implication, the NQF) does not consider, or reconsider, the adaptation of numeracy and literacy demands in an appropriate manner that would enable youth with intellectual disabilities to obtain the full qualification. Despite Utshintshe's efforts to enhance the accessibility of learnership qualifications,

¹¹ A unit standard is a curriculum document developed by SAQA, that describes a specific area of study.

SETAs have remained unresponsive to further reasonable accommodations of these youth, and the programme has had to accept partial qualifications for their participants up until now. Partial NQF qualifications due to a lack of appropriate adaptations and reasonable accommodation measures perpetuate the occupational marginalisation of youth with intellectual disabilities in work transition.

6.1.3.1 Lack of funding promotes occupational injustice

Funding featured prominently in the data as a component of learnerships, but also more broadly as a factor in the operations of the programme. Staff members attested to the importance of sufficient funds to run an effective work transition programme, and bemoaned the restrictions imposed by insufficient and unreliable funding that they experienced in programme delivery. Director A explained that essentially no funds, whether from SETAs or other government sources, are designated or allocated to work transition programmes for youth with intellectual disabilities. She attributed this to the fact that the DoSD, the custodial government department of the NGO, does not prioritise work transition of youth with intellectual disabilities into the open labour market. She states that, until recently, "it was generally accepted that people who worked in protective workshops, *should* be there and should stay there" (quotation 7:2). Learnership funding from SETAs is inconsistent and unpredictable, and regulations as to how funding can be spent are restrictive.

While job coaches are paid from government subsidies and other sources generated by the programme and the NGO themselves, no job coaching services are available outside of the programme to sustain support to workers since the government does not fund job coaching services and, therefore, the service "does not exist" (Director A, quotation 7:55). Grants that accompany learnerships had, thus, become an important source of funding for Utshintshe's activities and operations. This funding supplemented the programme's other funding sources, such as government subsidies, which were insufficient to support the programme's SE approach to work transition.

The effects of insufficient funding were, therefore, particularly pervasive in relation to the job coaching element of the programme. SETA funding conditions, for example, often stipulate that money should only be used for payment (in the form of a stipend) to learners and for the services of the training provider. Running costs of Utshintshe and, in particular, the job coaches' salaries, are not to be covered by the funding. The job coach relayed how she was sometimes unable to support the youth in their workplaces during a learnership, or had to use what she viewed as "sub-optimal" methods of support, for example telephonic support, because available funding did not cover job coach salaries. Director A described a "stop-and-go" (quotation 22:18) pattern of support, when coaches who had been appointed for the duration of a project had to be laid off as a result of insufficient or inconsistent funding. The job coach explained how the quality of her support to youth was affected and, arguably, the risk to the youth increased, by the shortage of funding:

I have to be doing too many other little things to focus on the person that I've placed in a job. So I just have to believe and hope that the person that you place there is gonna be safe and that nothing happens, you know? We are only at the moment two job coaches and we are looking a lot of people that we're dealing with: four workshops with 600-and-something people. So the numbers are a little bit hectic.

Quotation 24:32

Another component of the work transition programme, searching for and obtaining appropriate work placements for youth, was compromised when job coaches were under-capacitated due to funding insufficiencies. Youth who "drop off" from the programme could not be followed up on, and presumably then became unemployed (Director A, quotation 7:37). In some cases, the work transition programme forfeited learnership opportunities because job coaching support could not be funded. Director A summarised the impact of funding issues on the attainment of equal opportunity for youth with disabilities:

Change happens slowly and gradually, and even if the wonderful policies and laws say equal rights for [all], the funding doesn't reflect that, and without appropriate funding, we will not reach the point where we have enough hands and feet and people in the right places to provide the necessary support that [youth with intellectual disabilities] will need to participate on an equal basis. That is the end goal, that equal level of participation.

Quotation 22:39

Funding as a major factor in Utshintshe's ability to render the services it envisages, and in particular the job coaching support that it has identified as critical to youth with intellectual disabilities, seems to influence the work transition outcomes for youth directly. Lack of funding to pay job coaches deprives youth with intellectual disabilities from the opportunity to transition as this critical element is then absent from the programme. Director B stated that work transition is occasionally halted altogether due to unavailable funds for support after the completion of a learnership. A lack of government funding priority given to SE as a conduit for work transition then seemingly confines young people with disabilities to the margins of job opportunities in the open labour market, or altogether excludes them from the market. In the experience of the research participants, lack of funding as a role player in the work transition programme could contribute substantially to sustaining occupational injustice in relation to work for youth with disabilities.

6.1.3.2 Responding to funding and learnership challenges

In the context of the above challenges, staff members provided evidence of the programme's responses to some of the limitations imposed by funding and, in doing so, detailed the programme's commitment to and innovation in countering these constraints. In funding applications, for example, staff members responsible for this activity took care to frame their planning within the funding priorities identified by the state. As the programme grew and subsequent funding cycles followed, they remained careful and stringent in their budgeting to ensure the continuation of all necessary aspects of the programme. Director A summarised their approach to funding as follows:

So the [funding] vehicle just depends on what becomes available onto which we can hook [the programme] ... We have our [programme] goals, and we can write our programme around these goals to make them fit with whatever funding becomes available.

Quotation 7:52

Staff members explained that they used cross-subsidisation with other programmes run by the NGO to bridge intervals between funding cycles in order to cover job coaches' salaries. In applications to SETAs for learnership funding, the budget item "disability management" was allocated to job coach salaries. The programme has, in one instance, even convinced a SETA to regard job coaches as "assistive devices" (Director A: quotation 7:104) in order to secure funding for the job coaches' services. The programme has also designed their support activities to youth to be offered in group format, rather than individual support sessions.

The programme, furthermore, challenged the funding regulations of the welfare system, by convincing the DoSD to continue to pay subsidies for youth with disabilities who may have left the workshop environment, but are still being supported by the programme's job coaches. This was done by proactively lobbying for SE as a model to enhance work transition for youth with intellectual disabilities.

Through the efforts of Utshintshe to counter the constraining effects of limited and insufficient funding, a decrease in occupational deprivation and occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities seems evident. The programme's determined and innovative ways of securing funding, on an operational but also a systemic level, seem to counter the effects of these types of occupational injustice, and in doing so manage, to promote a justice of opportunity to participate in work.

6.1.4 Conclusion

The first theme, *Along the way towards occupational justice*, reported categories of information that explained how influences at the stages when youth with disabilities enter

Utshintshe and as they move through the programme, can hinder or promote occupational justice for them. Utshintshe's responses to factors that may increase occupational marginalisation were described, such as the programme's engagement with government role players and Utshintshe's focus on developing confidence and self-belief in the youth.

The categories further reported how Utshintshe's employment of work in a specific sector of industry that appears to be more receptive towards youth with disabilities may have countered occupational marginalisation by affording transition opportunities to the youth. As such, the consideration of a current conceptualisation of work stood out to be potentially problematic for the inclusion of the employment needs of youth with disabilities.

Finally, the theme points out how Utshintshe utilised a skills development system or strategy, made available by the state, to promote occupational justice from within the programme. In particular, the programme's innovation and dedication in battling the challenges that came with the learnership system reflected Utshintshe's commitment to pursuing occupational justice for the youth.

6.2 Theme II: Working "outside"

The second theme prominently represents the youth with disabilities' contributions to conceptualisations of work, namely outside work and inside work, evidenced in data that were obtained from focus groups. "Outside work" came to denote work performed in the open labour market, or real work, which the youth subscribed to and aspired to as the trajectory of their participation in the programme. "Inside work", on the other hand, meant work and work tasks performed within the confines of the workshop environment where the work transition programme was offered, and that formed part of the programme activities.

Unemployed youth made their desire to transition to outside work (in the open labour market) clear, along with other future aspirations in relation to the outside. Paul¹², for example,

¹² Pseudonym

considered the future possibility of starting his own business, and Neil¹³ wanted to obtain a drivers licence. A general sense conveyed by the unemployed women reflected that their exposure and development in the work transition programme fuelled their motivation towards outside work, and, importantly, their belief about their abilities to transition to the outside.

Director A, who had in the past driven the development of Utshintshe, described how the awareness of outside work developed in the youth when they saw how some individuals exited the programme (and the building), went to work at other premises for other employers, and started earning more money. Observing these transitions and hearing from youth who had transitioned created inspiration and a desire in youth who worked inside to also transition to the outside. In gearing programme operations in a way that transitions youth with disabilities into real work, a "transitioning culture" towards the outside seemed to establish itself, or at least the possibility of transitioning, should a youth express a desire to that effect. As such, it appears that the programme has moved the margins for the youth that they serve, providing an opportunity to transition where there may not have been one before.

6.2.1 Meanings of outside work

With outside work established as the end goal and desirable outcome for the participants, employed youth were expressive about what it meant to work outside. Vuyani reflected that he unconditionally regarded working outside as the aim of work transition, and valued this achievement of independence.

So, like when I was there outside, like, I was feeling, like, ok, now this is it. I was working alone every time, and I was working.

Quotation 8:41

¹³ Pseudonym

He continued to emphasise work independence by explaining how he used the support of the programme by consulting with the job coach in relation to problem solving, but insisted on implementing solutions independently at his workplace.

For John, working outside meant that he could achieve his goal of earning money, a sentiment echoed by Vuyani, who also tied an income to concepts of independence and financial autonomy. John's experience of work transition seemed to go beyond acquiring a job in real work to himself transforming into someone different who had left inside work behind:

I feel comfortable of being out there and not coming back [to the workshop]. I don't feel comfortable being here because, it feels like I'm lost, because I don't understand anymore, but I was like these people.

Quotation 8:8

Learning work skills, participating in workplace training and practicing life skills, for example communication, in the work context were further listed by the employed youth as meaningful elements of their outside work. Manny¹⁴ and John, who worked together at the same organisation, reported how their relationship as co-workers enabled their work performance. They relayed a sense of reciprocity between them ("He helps me and I help him", Manny, quotation 16:4), co-operation ("We do all the stuff together", Manny, quotation 8:13), and support.

My problem was communicating with people. I have a short temper. So I have a best friend, he helps me with that ... if it's not for him then I would all the time be angry with people ... I'm grateful I have a buddy like Manny, because he was helping me here at this place to don't lose my temper, uhm ... don't fight so much. It was difficult because I would still fight whilst I was here, but I had to sit with him, every day, talk to him so that I can change.

John, quotation 8:4

¹⁴ Pseudonym

John's report about the support relationship between him and Manny points to how social exposure in the workplace created opportunities for him to gain social skills. Learning and applying these social skills in real work enhanced occupational justice for John when it reduced occupational marginalisation, and he was able to make use of the opportunity to work.

Manny and John further asserted that they preferred to be titled "The Maintenance Guys" instead of caretakers, suggesting a sense of pride and having adopted a certain worker identity. The permanency of his appointment also appeared to be important to John as he listed and explained his diverse responsibilities and multi-dimensional worker role. It is possible that the choosing of their title may have served as a motivator and enabler of their participation in work occupation.

The concept of occupational choice further came to the fore in a statement by Manny, when he responded to a question about what he enjoys about his work. He stated, "I like to clean every day in the morning. When I come into work, I clean early" (quotation 8:29). Manny's experience of the temporal aspect of the job task is what made the execution of the job task enjoyable. He may not have chosen cleaning as part of his work occupation, but performing the task at a specific time of the day did appear to be his choice. In other instances, he listed the steps of job tasks with a sense of pride and ownership of responsibility, potentially indicative of an experience of exerting choice in the way that he executes his work occupation. Aspects of occupational choice, such as when and how the tasks are completed, therefore seemed to be present in Manny's work performance. The presence of occupational choice aspects could contribute to the achievement of occupational justice for him, through influencing the extent to which occupational marginalisation is imposed.

The employed youth came to view the work transition programme as an enabler in their achievement of outside employment. John and Manny recounted experiences of exploitation, lack of occupational choice and being marginalised in work before they joined and completed the work transition programme. They, and also Vuyani, recognised a desire to share their gained knowledge and experience with unemployed youth with the hope to inspire and guide them in their journey towards the outside. Their inclination to share their experiences with unemployed youth in the

programme may indicate how they had become motivated to contribute to or enhance occupational opportunities for others.

The youth's apparent understanding of outside work as part of their trajectory may have influenced their movement towards such a goal and contributed to resisting the marginalising effect of sheltered work. In the case of the unemployed youth, their view and sense of achievability of outside work, along with real access to and utilisation of occupational opportunities geared towards work transition, could have moved their positions from the margins of work participation closer to positions of equal opportunity and open labour market work access. Employed youth, on the other hand, experienced outside work and the associated empowerment directly, while the continued access to support from the programme may have held potentially discriminatory and oppressive forces in the labour market at bay and, in doing so, prevented youth from being relegated to the margins of participation in work occupation.

6.2.2 An experience of occupational injustice

While employed youth in most instances attested to the ways that the programme may have promoted occupational justice for them, Vuyani shared an overt experience of injustice during the study. In the follow-up focus group session, he shared that he had returned to the workshop (inside) after having exited his outside job. He recounted how he had built working relationships at the church where he was employed, which turned into exploitation by fellow workers. With more and more work responsibilities of co-workers piled onto him, he was unable to complete his own tasks and, to avoid conflict, he opted to resign from his position. Vuyani acknowledged that he acted submissively in the situation by not resisting or voicing his needs and expressed that, in sharing his experiences with the unemployed youth in the programme, he wanted to make them aware of "what is going on out there" (quotation 16:6). His choice of words suggested an experience of hostility and challenging circumstances associated with the outside, further implying that the outside could be uninviting and unaccommodating to youth with disabilities.

Later, Vuyani referred to future work transition opportunities with a sense of optimism, saying that he will now know how to "work right" because of his previous experience at the church

(quotation 16:8). The situation described by Vuyani may represent a reversal of occupational justice, because he moved back to the margins of work occupation, i.e. out of a real work opportunity available in society and to society (outside), and into a segregated work environment (inside). It could be construed that sufficient or appropriate support from the programme was not available to him in his outside work, arguably due to resource constraints explained by staff members, and as a result the work opportunity was lost and Vuyani returned to a more marginalised position. Added to this injustice is Vuyani's perception of his sole responsibility for his exit from work, which could be understood as an amassed injustice. Without recognition of or an understanding of the forces outside of his control that may have contributed to this exit (for example lack of support from Utshintshe, or the inability or poor inclination of the workplace to offer appropriate support to youth in work), Vuyani seemed to deduce that all that is required in future work opportunities is for him to make some personal changes. Such a thought process may in part be resultant from remnants of the medical model of disability, where the person with a disability is regarded as defective and the onus for rehabilitation lies with the individual, with no responsibility assigned to society and the environment to accommodate.

6.2.3 Employers as gatekeepers to the outside

Data from staff research participants reflected the role and prominence of employers as gatekeepers of outside job opportunities in the work transitions of youth with disabilities. Employers were viewed as being in a powerful position to afford, enable or equalise access for youth with disabilities into available jobs, but falling short in a commitment to disability employment. The job coach, for example, expressed a perception that the government as an employer was not setting an example by employing people with disabilities; therefore, private sector employers are following suit and "opting out" of employing people with disabilities (quotation 30:86).

Although there was recognition of the fact that employment of people with disabilities in the open labour market had been promoted by labour legislation, the job coach and Director A were in agreement that disability employment is promoted when the motivation to employ is from an emotional standpoint. As such, it was felt that pro-disability employment legislation has not had

desired effect on employment equality because "[employers] don't [employ people with disabilities] because of a decision from their heart and in many cases there needs to be that heart's decision" (Director A: quotation 22:46). In the programme's approach to employers, the legislative imperative for disability employment was therefore not used to gain access to opportunity for the youth, but rather a humanistic appeal for opportunity, backed by the programme's SE approach that facilitated gradual integration of youth into employment, with employers as partners in the process.

Despite the abovementioned approach to employers, staff reported experiences of employer discrimination against youth with disabilities, ascribing discriminatory practices to lack of awareness, education and understanding about disability and work. Employers would, for example, request for employees with "specific [types of] disabilities" (Job coach: quotation 24:49), to the exclusion of youth with intellectual disabilities served by the work transition programme, or want to appoint someone for the purpose of "window dressing" (Director A: quotation 7:90) (someone is appointed as a token to project a sense of social consciousness by the employer, or a sense of compliance with legislation).

6.2.3.1 Employers' failed understanding of support

In relation to sustained employment of youth with disabilities, instances were relayed where, from staff members' perspectives, employers failed to implement the necessary support to youth with disabilities, for example by not employing or honouring the role of the job coach as human supporter to the employee and employer during transition. As such, the job coach described instances of under-utilisation of job coach support, resulting in youth losing their jobs. Without insight about the value and centrality of job coach support, employers also fail to take responsibility for ongoing support once the job coach withdraws from the employment relationship (as per the SE model), as explained by the job coach:

[The employer] tends to forget that [the workers] have this disability, and that disability then fades away and then they start treating them (the person that is working there), they start treating them matter-of-factly.

Quotation 24:42

An employer's lack of understanding about job coaching had, in the past, prevented programme youth from being selected for employment in favour of people with other types of disabilities. Director B explained that the presence of a job coach as "assistive device" in a job interview situation would draw questions from unknowledgeable employers, who would exclude the applicant with an intellectual disability as a candidate. Director A perceived employers' failure to conceptualise job coaching as a measure of reasonable accommodation in the workplace as follows:

We really still find that an assistive device is much more acceptable in a workplace, than an assistive person, because it is still seen as: "But why should I appoint you if you need constant babysitting?" The perception is still not that it is support, the perception is still: "But then you're not able to do the job. If you need someone the whole time to mediate on your behalf, then you cannot do the job."

Quotation 22:41

Despite the availability of job coaches and attempts to educate employers about their role, employers neglect to make proper use of job coach support until a work performance issue escalates to the dismissal of the worker, illustrating the employer's influence on sustainability of the employment situation. The job coach described that, in her experience, a youth's return to the programme is "extremely degrading" for the individual who had been earning money, developed work skills and had "outgrown" the programme (quotation 24:45 & 47).

In the same vein, the job coach explained that employers tend to omit employees with disabilities from development opportunities in their companies and, subsequently, prevent them from earning more money. Apart from attempts at educating employers about the abilities and needs of youth with intellectual disabilities as employees, the job coach also responded to the

above challenges in the context of the programme by addressing what could be experienced as occupational imbalance, as follows:

When our [workers] come back once a month, they talk about these things: "It's so boring at my company that I'm working. I wanted to be working there, but it's now a little bit boring and stuff ... "As a job coach that is facilitating that meeting, we then have to talk about other things that is helping actually make your life interesting. How can you look at other things outside of your workplace like, you know, going for walks, doing a little bit of exercise and stuff like that? Because unfortunately people with intellectual disability, they're just structure-based. They're not gonna think out of the box and make things interesting. For them it's just to get through their day, but they also get bored ...

Quotation 24:56 & 57

From an occupational justice perspective, employers may inadvertently restrict access to job opportunities for youth with disabilities, promoting occupational marginalisation and deprivation, and contributing to occupational imbalance of someone with the desire to work. Another response by the programme to perceived barriers that emanate from employers' lack of knowledge and understanding has been to approach them with a low-risk proposition in order to prove that youth with disabilities can work. The programme would approach employers with a request to "just give us the opportunity" to prove that youth with intellectual disabilities can work (Director A: quotation 7:78), and would then accommodate employers' fears about disability employment by proposing that placement of a worker with an intellectual disability includes the presence and support of a job coach who takes on the role of intermediary between the employer and the worker with a disability. To lower the perceived risk of disability employment for employers even further, the programme undertook to withdraw youth with disabilities from the workplace should employers feel that the placement or match with the worker was not successful.

And we said: "Ok, give us a chance. If [the placement] doesn't work, we will take the [employee with the disability] away, and if it does work, you can see if you can employ some of them here later."

Director A: quotation 7:19

The above approach, at face value, reflects a sense that youth with disabilities were dispensable, possibly rendered such due to the power disparity between themselves and the employer who could decide about their entry into work or not. From an occupational justice perspective, this power disparity influences occupational marginalisation when opportunities to enter employment are denied to youth with disabilities due to an employer's lack of knowledge and understanding of disability and ability. The programme may have influenced the level of marginalisation though, by creating a "bridge" for the youth to transition through the mechanism of SE, and in particular through the presence of a job coach.

In contrast to the above conceptualisations of employers as potential promoters of occupational injustice in their role as gatekeepers, evidence about and from the employer who participated in the study reflected, in certain instances, sensitivity and encouragement to youth employed at her place of work. One example is when the employer identified that John (the employed youth) may feel more comfortable and supported by a peer of the same sex in an environment predominated by women, and the subsequent appointment of Manny as John's co-worker. The employer was, moreover, willing and able to give the youth the necessary time to adjust and learn about workplace expectations, as evidenced by the following quote:

John was very stubborn and it took time, you know, for us to understand him, and him also to understand: ok, these are the expectations and everything is not the way that I think it is going to be.

Employer: quotation 17:14

The employer demonstrated sensitivity and an inclination for appropriate support practices by having mentoring conversations with youth when learning opportunities arose in the workplace,

and by engaging in transparent communications with family members in recognition of their important support role for the worker. Liaison with families also seemed to inform the employer's approach to workers in a way that enabled her to offer support that could counteract destructive home influences to a worker's identity.

And it's also because of what Manny's mother imprinted in his brain, you know: "You're not good enough!". So, he's so scared of forgetting even his jacket here at work, you know. He was labeled as, you know: "I am no good!" But now he's proving himself and, uhm, ja, I'm cheering him on.

Employer: quotation 28:47

The employer conveyed a perception that the staff at her workplace had developed an understanding of Manny and John, and that the ability of the workplace to adapt to and accommodate these youths had enabled them to be successful as workers and attain sustained employment. She therefore drew attention to the tendency of a workplace to adapt to the needs of youth with disability, and the importance of this in the endeavour to create occupational opportunity. Data reflected that she displayed empathy and commitment to the youth, that she used her knowledge and insight about their abilities to educate co-workers on reasonable accommodation, and promoted their inclusion and integration in the workplace by facilitating their participation in training and development opportunities. Inclusion, to her, further meant that John and Manny took on responsibilities and fulfilled expectations similar to other employees, for example by having to pay for safety boots once they started to earn an income.

The employer, importantly, pointed out that she regarded the match between the youth and the place of employment to be optimal, due to the employer's focus on early childhood development. The following statement by her summarises her thoughts as such:

Because we [who are] working in this field [Early Childhood Development], we have so much patience because we are working with children, you understand? And, it is now,

like, if [Manny and John] now do something wrong it's like an extension of, you know, of the children that we're working with. And also we need to tolerate one another ... we've learned that it is like a skill. But maybe if it was in, like, another workplace, it would've been different. People would've fired them and they would've get upset with the people and ... or they would just stay away and not come back.

Quotation 17:52

The employer's sentiment above solidifies her experience of an appropriate match between the youth with disabilities and the particular workplace. In identifying this employer and employment environment, Utshintshe had evidently matched the youth's abilities with an open labour market job, and created an opportunity for occupational marginalisation to be reduced.

6.2.4 The open labour market: outside work in context

Employers were not the only factor that staff research participants experienced as facilitative or restrictive in the creation of employment opportunities for youth with disabilities. The open labour market, as the context within which such opportunities are made available or not, featured in the data as responsive to youth with intellectual disabilities in different ways.

Director A identified the dichotomy of the equal right to work of youth with disabilities and the inability of the open labour market to "absorb all of our clients", or to "offer the amount of support that many of [our clients] need" (quotation 7:74). She described the challenge of equal opportunity in employment, as follows:

So until the open labour market can accommodate [the South African] workforce at the level of their skills, we will find that entry-level jobs remain overcrowded and will not necessarily offer opportunities for our people with intellectual disabilities, to whom it should be offered. The competition at that [unskilled] level is extremely strong in our country ... also because of the skills gap of the previous generation [of people without disabilities] who did not have opportunities. So many of them are still illiterate or don't

necessarily have the qualifications and they are trapped in those entry-level jobs where, if they had the opportunities, they probably would've had the potential to move past [these jobs] to then open them up for new people to come into the job market.

Quotation 22:45

The director's statement denotes her keen insight into the challenge of a labour market that offers limited opportunity to work seekers competing for unskilled positions, and the need to equalise access to opportunities for youth with specific support needs. She summarised the characteristics of the current labour market as highly problematic to the entry of youth with intellectual disabilities due to the high general unemployment rate in South Africa. Persons without disabilities who have post-school qualifications take up unskilled, entry-level positions that would have offered opportunity to youth with disabilities who have much lower levels of education. She concludes that such a labour market is essentially "closed" to people with moderate to severe intellectual disabilities (quotation 7:75).

Director B contributed that people with intellectual disabilities are discriminated against in relation to people with other types of disabilities, describing intellectual disability as "the stepchild of disability" (quotation 27:58), and that youth with intellectual disabilities remain "on the back foot compared to the rest of the disability sector to get into the labour force" (quotation 27:12). From a business perspective, he expressed concern about the ability of someone with an intellectual disability to respond to market-related productivity demands and the fact that a certain level of support would always be needed in relation to cognitive tasks, meaning that the person with the intellectual disability would never be able to perform completely independently in a job.

An occupational injustice flows from the occupational marginalisation caused by an open labour market that is restrictive and unaccommodating towards youth with intellectual disabilities. From a social model of disability perspective, it is the neglect or inability of employers in the job market to accommodate someone who presents with impairment, that disables the youth and prevents their participation in work opportunities. This perspective presents itself in the foundations of occupational justice as well, when youth with intellectual disabilities are marginalised from

internships and other job opportunities due to a failed response from society to accommodate their alternative abilities.

Director A felt that jobs ought to be created that could accommodate the maximum potential of youth with intellectual disabilities, even if it entails for example working for two hours per day, because "they still have the right to work, but not necessarily in the traditional sense of what 'work' means" (quotation 22:15).

In response to the inaccessibility of the open labour market to youth with intellectual disabilities, but also due to an understaffing of job coaches, Utshintshe utilised job opportunities in the non-profit sector for programme participants. While the utilisation of opportunities in this sector could be seen as a way in which Utshintshe countered occupational marginalisation and promoted occupational justice, Director B expressed concern that the NGO sector has a focus on support for workers rather than "really giving them meaningful development, growth and real income opportunities" (quotation 27:68). His statement drew attention to a perception that work in different sectors of the labour market are less meaningful. Such a perception could influence the perceived extent to which occupational marginalisation is countered when youth with disabilities are employed in certain sectors.

Market-related salaries to youth with disabilities were mentioned in the course of data collection as a factor in work transition and sustained employment for this group. The employer participant relayed how she acted on advice from the job coach regarding salary offerings to John and Manny in order not to jeopardise their eligibility for the state disability grants that they received monthly. While restrictions on monthly income to disability grant recipients can be seen as discriminatory, Utshintshe's advice to employers on this issue could also be seen as supportive or facilitative to the sustainability of income, where a continued grant is available in the absence of employment. Contrary to the advice being conducive to sustainable income, a limitation on the youth's salaries may contribute to occupational marginalisation when their development as workers becomes constrained by salary limitations.

6.2.5 Conclusion

Theme II, *Working "outside"*, reported categories of information on the youth's experiences of work as well as factors related to the open labour market to which Utshintshe responded in attempts to counteract occupational marginalisation of the youth. The programme's establishment of a transitioning culture that supports iterative experiences out and back into the programme was highlighted as a way in which Utshintshe potentially promotes occupational justice.

The theme brought the role of employers in work transition into focus, highlighting how their attitudes and levels of knowledge about disability and employment could influence work transition and ultimately occupational justice through work. Utshintshe engaged with barriers and challenges posed by employers by tailoring their approach to employers as non-threatening, as opposed to employing legislation at their disposal. The programme furthermore sought out employment opportunities in a seemingly more receptive sector of industry, and premised appropriate matches between employers and employees to enhance the probability of sustained work transition and employment for youth with disabilities.

6.3 Theme III: Supported Employment (SE) as a counter to occupational injustice

Data that informed Theme III clarifies the role that SE plays in Utshintshe's approach to work transition and, as such, its apparent contribution to occupational justice. SE promotes the employment of people with disabilities through customised, individualised support that is made available for as long as needed to the person with a disability. The categories of data under this theme illustrate that "human support", as a central element of SE, countered occupational marginalisation by enhancing the youths' uptake of occupational opportunities, as well as their sustained participation in work occupations. Different role players at Utshintshe offer this human support, including job coaches, family members of youth with disabilities, the employer and the youths themselves.

6.3.1 The job coach as human supporter against occupational injustice

The youths' accounts of job coach support highlighted not only the support activities, such as work visits and guidance on problem solving, but also the non-tangible, individually-oriented support by the job coach as a person. Job coaches deliver support services in a challenging environment, under less than ideal circumstances. The programme directors, for example, identified job coaches' levels of education as "low" (Director A: quotation 7:7) and their work experience as confined to the NGO sector, as opposed to the private sector. Director B viewed this lack of exposure as restricting the job coaches' ability to interpret and service the needs of employers.

Despite a perceived lack of exposure and skill in certain areas, job coaches use advanced skills to develop the life and coping skills of youth with disabilities in order to promote occupational justice through the human support aspect of SE. Job coaches offer support not only to the youth with disabilities, but extend their reach and the benefits of support to other stakeholders of Utshintshe, namely the youths' families and the employers. The youth's experience of human support was being enabled to participate in a learnership opportunity by the job coach identifying, selecting and then encouraging them in participation. Patiswa¹⁵ (unemployed), for example, contributed that her self-belief was strengthened by the job coach by stating: " ... It's helped me because I have someone that they believe in me ... they say all the time: 'You are strong, you can do it'" (quotation 38:8).

Neil (unemployed) credited the job coach's presence and availability as a safety net that gave him the confidence to perform his worker role. John (employed) explained how the job coach's guidance and support affected him:

I had a job coach, his name was Mr Arthur¹⁶. Mr Arthur he was not like a teacher but as a friend. Always, also like Manny, helped me control my temper and ... give me the confidence to not feel afraid to be in the outside world, because I also ... had a problem stuttering ... still do

¹⁵ Pseudonym

¹⁶ Pseudonym

sometimes. Mr Arthur helped me to speak so that I don't stutter too much ... I don't get nervous with people, that's how he helped me, Mr Arthur taught me how to work hard and to be out there and never give up, try to go forward and never go backwards. How that worked for me is that I feel that I did go forward."

Quotation 8:7

The support offered by the job coach, and the way in which it was offered (constructively, empathetically) seemed to enable the youth to transition, not just from unemployment into the activities of the work transition programme, but also out of the programme into outside work. This human support element of the programme thus promoted occupational justice through enhancement of self-belief, self-confidence and empowerment, which translated into work transition and the utilisation of occupational opportunities. Movement towards occupational justice, brought on by the actions of human support agents, was further realised through the counter-effects that such actions may have had on the marginalisation of these youth from real work opportunities, and deprivation previously experienced due to a lack of access to such opportunities.

An unemployed youth's assertions about the job coach reflected her sense of the coach's intricate involvement with the learnership and all its aspects, to the extent that she viewed the job coach as the actual trainer in the learnership. She recognised the job coach's role in her teaching and learning by stating: *"I always said to myself ... wasn't it [for] Zulfa, I will never know all this stuff"* (Janet, quotation 38:5).

Janet's¹⁷ recognition was echoed by other participants, whose statements then went beyond the role of job coaches to proclamations about the specific coach's abilities to facilitate work transition for this group. To illustrate the youth's regard for this job coach, Patiswa commented that Zulfa showed a unique understanding of the social issues and their impact on these youth, and because of such insight, Zulfa "gives you comfort to try" (quotation 38:7). Vuyani

¹⁷ Pseudonym

highlighted that the way in which the coach performed on-the-job support was indicative of her dedication to creating a learning work experience for him that would benefit him in his job at the time as well as in future work situations.

Other data sources affirmed both the overseer and controller role of the job coach in the delivery of programme activities and the hands-on, direct roles in achieving the desirable outcome of work transition. Director A explained that the guarantee of the involvement of a job coach had secured work transition opportunities for youth:

We "sold" it to the [employer] ("sold" in inverted commas because it was free) by telling them: "We'll give you this team with a job coach to ensure that [the workers] do what they are supposed to do ... The job coach will find out from you what needs to be done, [and] how it needs to be done. You don't have to interact with this team [of workers] at all in the beginning".

Quotation 7:34

Job coaches were reported to be responsible for the running of the programme and for forming the most direct relationships with programme participants during the transition process. Job coach tasks and responsibilities included the selection and orientation of participants to the work transition programme; sourcing and negotiating employment opportunities; sensitising and educating employers about the employment of people with intellectual disabilities; assisting employers to develop appropriate job descriptions; daily and monthly follow-ups of workers; supporting skills development trainers; and supporting workers in transferring theory into practice at their places of work. The following quote shows how the job coach supported a training facilitator in the learning environment, apart from debriefing and encouraging the facilitator when she felt frustrated with challenges in the learning environment:

What I'm doing is: the facilitator has got her lessons that she needs to do, ok? So, I see what she's doing and she's struggling to pass the message across. So then, what I do is, I will

then, at the next part, I will then show her how to actually do the lesson, maybe with visuals or smaller groups activities or maybe pasting, whatever it is and in that way, I'm actually showing her.

Job coach: quotation 30:68

While preparing and supporting youth into employment, one of the reviewed documents further stated the job coaches' purpose to include the establishment of "platforms for the desensitization of [the disability sector] with respect to the approach to adults with intellectual disability as well as advocating for the advancement of the sector" (document excerpt 3:4). The following quote illustrates the job coach's ardent sense of the meaning of equality in work opportunities, and how equality ought to manifest in employment practices:

I went there for an interview with one of my [programme participants] and the man on one of the panels, he asked me, "What is the point of you coming for this interview? Did you not prepare your person quite well?" and I said to him, I did actually prepare my person quite well, but as part of the reasonable accommodation, this [person] has asked me to come and sit next to him so that he can be comfortable". So he said, "Well, if that's the case, then every other person can also ...". So I said, "Every other person could have also done it, but they didn't; he asked me to be here. So because he asked me to be here, I am here. I'm not gonna answer any of his questions, but if there's a difficult question that he doesn't understand, from the questions that you guys are gonna give, I'm gonna liaise with him. I'm gonna make it simple for him to understand that question that you're giving him and then he's gonna answer you."

Job coach: quotation 24:92

Related to the group participants' experiences of how this job coach conducted support activities was her description of support conversations with youth, which embodied an authenticity in her approach and regard for the youth. She, for example, related a youth's behaviour to her own

as a worker in an attempt to clarify expectations for the youth, and delivered review feedback in a constructive, honest and direct way, as the following illustrates:

We have those kind of assessments and evaluations on a regular basis, where you call them in and say, "You know what, I don't actually like that you've done this, but we need to be real about it, but it's not a train smash, but we can work on this again. What do you think?" "No, no, no, I think so," "Are you recommitting yourself?" So you actually have that one-on-one conversation with them.

Job coach: quotation 24:110

Support conversations were conducted regularly over the period of a youth's involvement with the programme, and reflected elements of real interest and commitment from the job coach. Support sessions were offered in the format of groups, and included education to youth on statutory work elements, for example how paid leave works. Such group sessions were regarded as essential, especially where youth did not have access to such support in their workplaces. The job coach also offered individual support via telephone when workers were unable or unwilling to attend group sessions.

Support by the job coach extended to the families of youth with disabilities, as well as to the employer, with the object of shaping the youth's opportunities to work transition. The employer reported how the job coach's support activities in the workplace guided her in effectively accommodating and supporting workers herself, while the job coach's hands-on involvement contributed to quality work performance by youth. The employer reported an instance where the job coach convinced John's mother to allow him to take on more responsibility at work, and the job coach relayed a conversation with a parent about her child's greater independence as a worker.

*I said, "You can't always be so holding on to your child. Your child is an adult now."
Then a few days later or a while later she phoned me back again and she said, "You*

know what, I'm glad that you told me that, because I'm always treating my child like a child".

Job coach: quotation 24:83

The job coach's delivery of human support seemed essential to and instrumental in creating an experience of occupational justice for the youth. The job coach considered the human support offered in the programme to have a limiting effect on "drop-outs" because of a "bond" built with the youth over a 12-month period (quotation 24:101). In developing a sense of movement through the programme, and self-belief about the ability to work transition, youth may have moved further away from the margins of work participation, countering occupational marginalisation, towards occupational opportunity in the open labour market.

This category of information showed how job coaches, through their practice as human supporters to the youth, facilitated participation in the activities of Utshintshe and, in doing so, expanded the youths' occupational opportunities into work. The human support to the employer and family members reinforced the youths' ability to continue to gain from and expand their participation in work occupation, with a counter-effect on the marginalising properties of the open labour market.

6.3.2 Families as human support

Participants acknowledged the role of family members in supporting their utilisation of occupational opportunities. Vuyani (employed) mentioned the encouragement that he drew from his mother and certain work skills that he learned from his sister, which he viewed as enabling. Precious (unemployed) relayed how excited her mother was about the prospect of occupational participation at the workshop (in the programme), and Patiswa (unemployed) expressed definitively that her family encouraged her to participate in Utshintshe and to utilise the opportunities created by the programme. The employer participant further confirmed the enabling and supportive role of family members in developing youth in their worker roles.

I think it's also because John's parents they speak a lot to him about the workplace. His daddy will walk him to work every morning. And as they walk to work his daddy will speak to him about what it is that he needs to do, how he needs to behave at work.

Employer: quotation 17:49

One of the unemployed youth, Sylvester¹⁸, spoke about an instance where he forfeited an opportunity to participate in work because his family was concerned about his safety travelling to the specific area where the job was. While it may appear that Sylvester's family permitted occupational marginalisation to prevail because they did not allow him to take up a job opportunity, their position may also have been reasonable. Taking into consideration what the job coach had shared previously about support required by families, it is possible that Sylvester's family displayed over-protective behaviour and lack of understanding about Utshintshe's support activities. Another possibility, though, is that the potential risk to Sylvester's personal safety posed by the community contexts weighed on his family's minds. It stands to reason that a combination of these two factors influenced Sylvester's ability to take up the job, and that the socio-economic environment in this instance thus contributed to his occupational marginalisation.

6.3.3 The employer's offering of human support

Data obtained from the participant employer reflect that her role in work transition also included an offering of human support to the two youths (John and Manny) employed at her place of work. She described an employer-employee relationship that developed based on insight and empathy, which enabled her to offer individualised workplace support to the youth. The following quotes exemplify this relationship:

Whenever we speak, it's always, like, we laugh about [personal life issues] and ja, we're sad about [personal life issues].

Employer: quotation 28:20

¹⁸ Pseudonym

So we also make him (John) feel good... that there's worth in him, you know?

Employer: quotation 28:41

The second quote reflects the employer's response to the need of the worker for positive feedback, which she identified as lacking from his family life. She used mentoring conversations to facilitate the youths' reflections on learning and to influence their work performance. Her statements reflected a consistent sense of encouragement to the youth when in work, offered daily as they performed their tasks and participated in the workplace routine.

A further element of this kind of support was found in the employer's education of her co-workers and colleagues on how to accommodate Manny and John in a reasonable way at work. The following quote is an example of her guidance to colleagues on how to instruct Manny:

Then I told the teachers, "Please, if you want to send him to the shop, write it down on a piece of paper, because then he feels more comfortable going to the shop."

Employer: quotation 17:28

The employer's support extended to engagement with family members when necessary, to address behavioural issues related to work. She reported developing insight into the youths' personal and family circumstances, which informed her handling of the youth at work and enabled her to create a supportive work environment.

6.3.4 Human support between youth

A further source of human support was mentioned by Manny and John in their work context. In their recounts they repeatedly mentioned how they assisted one another in the performing of their job tasks, and John credited Manny for helping him to control his temper. The employer explained how John tended to support Manny as a result of developing an understanding of his co-worker's needs:

John also has learned to understand Manny. Manny has this attitude that if something happened to him, then he don't speak to nobody in this building. And he actually say it: "Nobody must speak to me". And then John will say: "Aag man, teacher, then leave him. Maybe he's got problems at home. It's maybe his mommy again".

Quotation 17:21

The opportunity to develop a supportive peer relationship in the work environment appeared to have assisted and supported Manny in his ability to perform as a worker and, subsequently, to maintain his worker role. Human support in this sense, offered from worker to worker, could therefore be viewed as conducive to work transition, and resisting occupational marginalisation.

6.3.5 Conclusion

The third theme, *Supported Employment as a counter to occupational injustice*, focused strongly on support as a factor conducive to the aspirations of Utshintshe to promote occupational justice for youth with disabilities. Categories clarified how the job coach's supportive role to youth and families of youth, as well as to the employer, enabled youth to utilise opportunities into work and, as such, move from the margins of work towards the centre of work.

Other sources of support to the youth, namely families, the employer, and youth to one another were described under the categories of this theme, and the youth's ability to work transition based on and with this support, was related to their movement towards occupational justice.

6.4 Conclusion to chapter

This chapter reported on and interpreted the findings of the study, and drew conclusions about the different categories and overall themes that developed from the data. It was concluded that Utshintshe's approaches to youth with disabilities and the programme's various activities promote occupational justice for this group when restrictive operating parameters and societal norms are challenged. As such, Utshintshe applied various strategies, such as SE and

learnerships, to promote work opportunities for the youth that they served, but specifically also capitalised on elements of these strategies, for example human support, to counter injustices such as occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities.

Chapter 7 : Discussion

This chapter presents the discussion of findings from Chapter 6. It elaborates on and considers how Utshintshe applied a human rights-based approach to the programme's development and delivery in order to support its activities of promoting occupational justice through work transition. Utshintshe's application of a Supported Employment (SE) model to match the needs of youth with intellectual disabilities is discussed. The outside forces that affect the entry of youth with a disability into and readiness to participate in Utshintshe are discussed, and the programme's responses to and handling of the reality of iterative work transition experiences are detailed. Next, Utshintshe's way of promoting occupational justice when responding to the aforementioned realities is explicated. The job coaches' role in the promotion of occupational justice through their specific approaches and attributes is detailed in order to elucidate their centrality to the endeavour of occupational justice through work.

Finally, Utshintshe's responses to the challenging South African labour market and macro-economic constraints are discussed, with reference to the programme's utilisation of employment opportunities in the NGO sector and the youth's contributions on meaningfulness found in open labour market employment. Utshintshe's use of supported demonstrations in open labour market employment and the utilisation of learnerships as vehicles for work transition are also discussed to illustrate the programme's efforts to counter occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities.

7.1 A human rights basis for occupational justice through work transition

The findings of this study reflect a work transition programme run from the foundation of an all-encompassing belief in and dedication to the human rights of youth with disabilities. Across the themes, practices and activities were found that represented the staff participants' devotion to the human rights of the youth they served, for example through their advocacy efforts towards employers to afford employment opportunities to these youths. The staff's constant concerted

efforts to secure and apply funding in ways that support work transition was another example of the programme's dedication to and resilience in promoting occupational justice through Utshintshe. A human rights-based approach (HRBA) seemed to inform a nurturing developmental programme delivered at the hands of knowledgeable, person-oriented and committed job coaches and other role players. The programme's inclination and ability to create such an environment has had a counter-effect on occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities in that it secured access to and utilisation of job opportunities in the open labour market. Occupational deprivation as a result of lack of participation in real work as a health-giving occupation was further deterred through Utshintshe's HRBA. Figure 7.1 illustrates the HRBA as foundational to Utshintshe's efforts towards occupational justice.

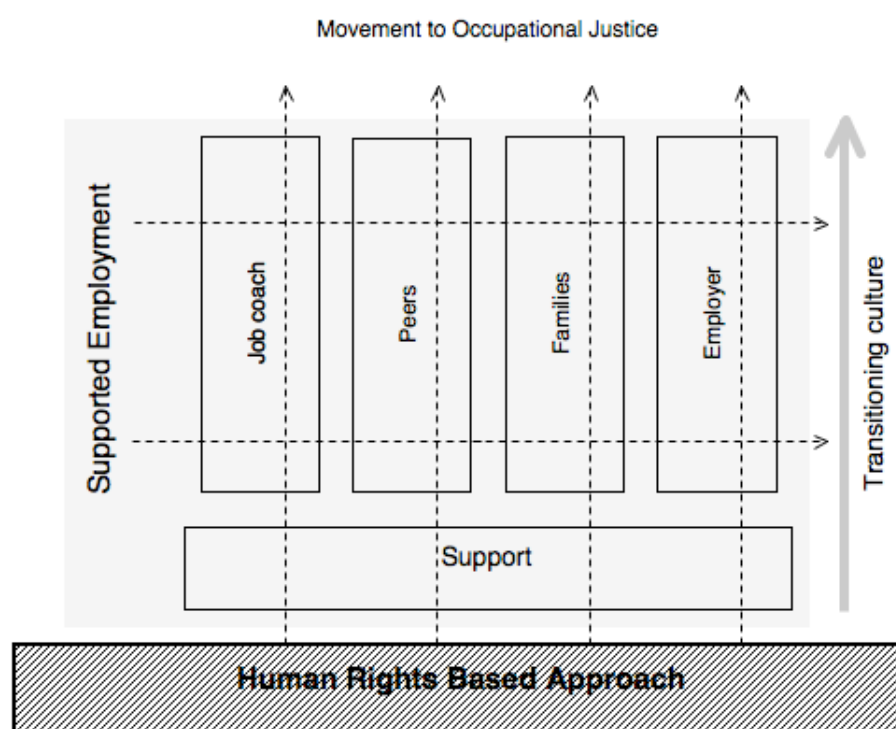


Figure 7.1 The combined effects of Utshintshe's approaches to work transition

Scholars of occupational justice link the concept to human rights as a viable birthplace for the kind of justice one may aspire to through participation in occupation. Hocking (2017) regards the relationship of human rights to social justice as tied to occupational justice when she considers the occupational justice as an aspect of social justice. Other scholars consider human rights to be

directly concerned with enabling or constraining occupation (Hammell & Iwama, 2012). It stands to reason that, in whichever way the concepts inform or influence one another, a human rights focus on fairness and equity would be central to the pursuit of occupational justice. In this ethnographic study, it was indeed found that the programme staff's HRBA infused the programme's operations and activities, enabling Utshintshe to counteract the "occupational deprivation" (Durocher, Rappolt & Gibson, 2014, p. 421) of youth with disabilities from development and participation in work and the "occupational marginalisation" (p. 422) in open labour market work opportunities. The programme executed these affronts to occupational injustice against the odds created by a non-receptive labour context, where youth with disabilities vie for job opportunities amongst a remarkable 29% of the general population who are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Utshintshe was able to incorporate core elements of an HRBA (Dyer, 2015), for example in the youth's participation in decision-making structures of the organisation; in the prioritisation of youth with intellectual disabilities in the design of programme activities; and in the promotion of non-discrimination against youth with intellectual disabilities. Youth with disabilities subsequently related experiences and expressed perspectives reflective of a consistent trajectory towards work transition into the open labour market.

Following an HRBA furthermore importantly implies that the programme has a focus on structural barriers that prevent youth with disabilities from exercising their rights, building capabilities and having the capacity to exercise choice (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Following an HRBA also aptly positioned the programme to respond to the reality of the local context (Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003), for example by seeking out locally situated employers in employment environments that matched the youth with disabilities that Utshintshe served. The notions of an HRBA are congruent with the attention of occupational justice to socio-political influences on individuals' ability to exert choice and power in occupational participation (Galvaan, 2012) as well as with the social model's view of disability as a social construct (Hanrahan, 2005; Oliver & Barnes, 2010).

While an evident foundation in human rights seemed to prime the programme to promote occupational justice through its operations and activities, it is also in particular the programme

staff's attitude and actions that reflected as prominent and constructive towards the attainment and experiences of occupational justice by the youth. Staff members' accounts, for example, of innovative approaches to funding applications, or their determination and resilience in pursuing work transition opportunities, reflected their beliefs in and support to equal rights for youth with disabilities to work. These beliefs and attitudes were expressed by the leadership of the programme (the directors) as well as the staff responsible for the operationalisation of the programme (the job coaches). Glisson and James (2002) define these shared values of equality (held by programme staff), including their assumptions about and perspectives on youth with disabilities that draw them together as a team towards a common purpose and concerted behaviour, as the programme's "organisational culture" (p. 770), or "psychosocial infrastructure" (Sisodia, Wolfe & Sheth, 2003, p. 200). Additional to an organisational culture steeped in an HRBA or, perhaps as a result of this fact, staff members' efforts further revealed their "presumption of employability" about youth with disabilities, a premise that Certo and Luecking (2011, p. 160) asserted should guide transition and employment services for youth with intellectual disabilities.

At the very root of this programme it seems, therefore, that attitudes and actions taken from a basic and shared belief in human rights, fairness and equality enabled the programme to counter elements of occupational injustice (i.e. occupational deprivation and marginalisation) in the context of youth with disabilities wanting to participate in work occupation. Findings further evidenced the programme staff's sensitivity and subsequent customised approaches to youth with intellectual disabilities in particular, demonstrating their focus on tailoring programme activities to the learning needs of this specific group of people with disabilities. To achieve this customised approach to youth with intellectual disabilities, the programme applied SE as a vehicle for work transition.

7.2 Supported Employment and occupational justice

Support and the way that it was offered in the programme featured prominently in the accounts by youth participants, as well as staff and the employer participant. The concept of support, in particular the way that it presents in the context of SE, warrants discussion so as to

illustrate its essence in advocating for occupational justice for youth transitioning through the programme under study.

The roots of SE are found in Western literature on work and intellectual disability, and is defined as paid, open labour market work in integrated work settings (where people with and without disabilities work together), and with ongoing support for the person with a disability (Kamp & Lynch, 2007). The effectiveness of SE as a disability employment strategy has been researched since the 1990s and found to compare favourably with the employment outcomes of alternative approaches (Bond, 2004; Bond et al., 2001; Bond, Drake, Mueser & Becker, 1997; Luciano, Drake, Bond & Becker, 2014; Marshall et al., 2014). The strategy has proven particularly successful in achieving positive competitive employment outcomes for people with intellectual disabilities because of the availability of ongoing support (Kirsh et al., 2009; Terreblanche, 2015).

In selecting SE as the conceptual framework for achieving work transition, the programme in this study implemented activities and strategies compatible and coherent with its foundational HRBA, for example through the model's power to promote the human right to work as well as inclusion and participation (Kamp & Lynch, 2007). SE has not evaded obstacles and criticism though, for example the cost associated with the model's implementation (Cimera, 2006). Cimera recommends that the micro-level cost drivers of SE be established in order to improve effectiveness of SE services and ensure the future of SE.

As a strategy in South Africa, SE has remained underdeveloped despite the evidence base of its effectiveness from Western literature. Limited evidence has been forthcoming from the Global South, also from the South African context, about the impact or viability of SE as disability employment strategy locally. Van Niekerk et al (2011) investigated what is required for SE to become a practiced strategy in South Africa, and Van Niekerk, Coetzee, Engelbrecht, Hajwani and Terreblanche (2015) later published findings from a small study on the time utilisation trends of SE service elements by people with mental disabilities. These same researchers calculated the cost of these service elements to find that an SE service to people with intellectual disabilities and psychiatric disabilities, compared favourably with the cost of paying a disability grant to the same

individuals over a 12-month period, but with the added benefit of the study participants being reintegrated into competitive employment (Engelbrecht, Van Niekerk, Coetzee & Hajwani, 2017).

Utshintshe's selection of SE as the guiding model and strategy reflects the knowledge and understanding of the leadership and staff about the compatibility of the model to youth with intellectual disabilities in effecting work transition into real, open labour market jobs. Furthermore, by engaging job coaches with an individualistic approach to support youth with disabilities, I found adherence to a person-in-context model that shows how three domains enable resilience of at-risk youth in transitioning from school to work (DeLuca, Godden, Hutchinson & Versnel, 2015). This person-in-context model put forward by DeLuca et al. proposes that these domains are influential in school-to-work transitions of at-risk youth, namely the individual domain, the social-cultural domain and the economic-political domain. Figure 7.2 illustrates the person-in-context model with its interlocking domains. While the model of DeLuca et al. was developed with at-risk youth without disabilities in mind, youth with disabilities can be regarded as at-risk of not obtaining competitive employment due to lack of skills, adverse personal contexts and social prejudices similar to, and in fact greater than youth without disabilities (DeLuca et al., 2015). Youth at Utshintshe were, furthermore, not transitioning from school directly into work, although the programme could be regarded as a bridge between the two stages, whether youth had come from schools into the programme or not.

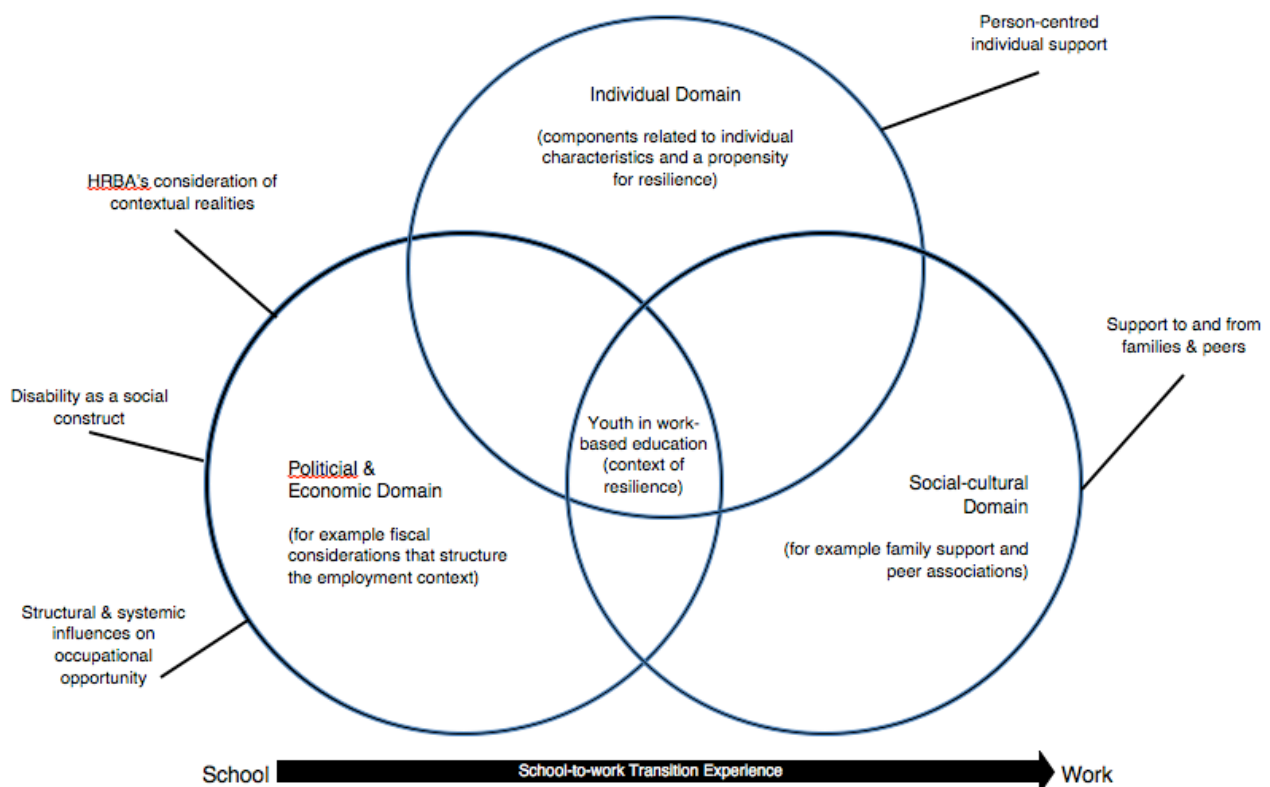


Figure 7.2 The person-in-context model showing congruence with Utshintshe's utilisation of SE (adapted from DeLuca et al., 2015)

The potential significance of the person-in-context model to this study is the congruence between the aspects addressed through Utshintshe in their approach to and delivery of work transition services to youth and the domains that DeLuca et al. regard as critical in work transition of at-risk youth. The attention of HRBA to contextual realities, the proposition of disability as a social construct by the social model of disability, and the attention of occupational justice to socio-political influences are reflected in the domains suggested by DeLuca et al as the main aspects affecting the youths' resilience to transition into work. Utshintshe appeared able to attend to these domains through utilising the core method associated with SE, that of support offered by job coaches, families, the employer and between peers.

The support mechanisms at the disposal of an SE approach, utilised on the bases of Utshintshe's HRBA and a social model of disability, seemed to enable the facilitation of youth with disabilities into open labour market employment. In effecting such transitions, Utshintshe was able to challenge the occupational injustices of marginalising youth with disabilities to work occupations

performed in segregated environments, and the deprivation of opportunities to participate in real work.

7.3 Setting a course towards occupational justice: entry into the programme

While the foundations of the programme may have been stooped in an HRBA to youth with disabilities, the study findings and interpretations illuminated how forces outside of the programme influenced the youths' attainment of occupational justice, or countered occupational injustices, at various stages of their work transition journey. Youths' trajectories towards occupational justice through work was influenced at the point of entering the work transition programme, and in different ways during participation in the programme.

Firstly, data reported an apparent lack of collaboration between two primary government departments involved in work transition of youth with disabilities, namely the DoE and the DoSD. From the perspective of programme staff, the absence of concerted and complementary policies and efforts between these two departments resulted in extended marginalisation of youth from work occupations, and deprivation from participation in the health-promoting occupation of work. Research literature attests to the primacy of professional collaboration in school-to-career transition of youth with disabilities, and identifies local or state-wide collaborative partnerships between schools, businesses (the employer), community organisations (for example the community rehabilitation provider), and state vocational rehabilitation agencies as key programme features linked to positive employment outcomes (Camacho & Hemmeter, 2013; Doren, Yan & Tu, 2013; Hart, Zimbrich & Ghiloni, 2001; Honeycutt, Bardos & Mcleod, 2015; King, Baldwin, Currie & Evans, 2006; Molfenter et al., 2018; O'Day, 2009). Specifics of such collaborative efforts have been noted to include dedicated personnel across partnering entities as well as blended funding, and interagency agreements (Doren et al., 2013).

Staff of the work transition programme under study expressed an awareness of the collaborative shortcomings of the government departments, and the implications for work

transitions of youth with disabilities. In response, the programme, through the custodial NGO under which it operated, engaged the DoE on ways of effectively enabling transitions between schools and work transition programmes. Without effects of this engagement forthcoming during the period of this study, communication with the DoE as an essential role player in work transition signify the programme's understanding of the systemic nature of influences on work transition of youth with disabilities, and that these are to be addressed and transformed at policy level.

The role of families and the community proved important in facilitating the youths' entry into Utshintshe and benefiting from the transition opportunities in the programme. Family and community involvement in work transition planning for youth with disabilities is supported as best practice in the literature (DeLuca et al., 2015; Nochajski & Schweitzer, 2014). DeLuca et al. state that the psychological aspects and lived experiences of youth transitions are influenced by the family members, family values and family resources, rendering the family a crucial role player in successful or unsuccessful work transitions for youth. Youth who participated in this study illustrated this point point in their communications of how they entered Utshintshe through the encouragement and facilitation of their family members. Utshintshe's collaboration with families thus supported the endeavours of the programme toward occupational justice through employment (King et al., 2006) where professional collaboration seemed to falter. The ability of micro-level collaborations to facilitate youth into Utshintshe and, subsequently, into work, highlights the role of relationships and work socialisation that happens at an individual level, and the findings of this study brings to light the value of families and communities as unseen structural components in work transitions of youth with disabilities.

In a contrary finding, Holwerda, van der Klink, de Boer, Groothoff and Brouwer (2013) reported on a cohort study done with 735 youth with mild intellectual disabilities in the Netherlands. The researchers found that parents' support and attitude regarding work were not predictive of work participation of the youth. They highlighted a limitation of their study, though, as the fact that social factors (such as support from parents) were self-reported by youth with mild intellectual disabilities, bringing into question the reality of estimations by the youth. Furthermore, they did not

report veracity measures to ensure understanding of the research questionnaires by participants (Holwerda et al., 2013). The differences in socio-cultural contexts between the study of Holwerda et al. and this study should also be noted as potentially weighing on the findings about the role of family support in work transition. Youth with intellectual disabilities who live in socio-economic settings served by Utshintshe generally participate in cultural practices that value family and collectivity, whether informed by religion, sustained personal safety, or other influences. The role of family and community relations in youth with disabilities transitioning through Utshintshe, was confirmed in the findings of this study, and remains in contradiction to the findings of Holwerda et al.

Findings from this study reflect Utshintshe's awareness and acknowledgement of the role of family in work transition of youth with disabilities, illustrated through the harnessing of family support by the job coach and employer, and their offering of support to families of youth. Through the support offered to families, youth were able to access and make use of opportunities for work transition, and to counteract the effects of occupational marginalisation by transitioning into real work. Luecking and Wittenburg (2009), in their case descriptions of a Youth Transition Demonstration, confirm that families themselves require specific support in order to promote transitions for young family members, such as access to information about employment, and opportunities to share through peer support with other families of youth with disabilities.

7.4 Occupational justice in iterative experiences: in and out of employment

Youth recounted iterative experiences on their journey through Utshintshe, i.e. exiting the programme into open labour market employment and returning to the programme before, potentially, exiting again. The youths' explanations of their return to the programme reflected a sense of returning to a "safety net". Even though they may have been disappointed about exiting employment, there was a subsequent refocusing of their sights on the next potential employment endeavour in the open labour market, this despite the job coach's strong sentiment that a return to

the programme was disheartening and embarrassing to the youth. It could be construed that the opportunity to re-enter the programme when employment becomes unavailable, for whatever reason, may promote the ultimate attainment of subsequent work transitions and, in as such, the realisation of occupational justice through employment, rather than the opposite, namely continued marginalisation through segregation. Research literature shows a paucity in evidence about the effect of iterations in work transition for youth with disabilities, although Migliore, Grossi, Mank and Rogan (2008) reported on the perceived value of workshops for people with disabilities. These researchers found that most families of people with intellectual disabilities agreed that the long-term placement possibilities of workshop environments are a major factor in their considerations about workshops versus open labour market employment for their family members. Families, furthermore, considered the safety offered by workshop environments to be an important factor, while staff members at workshops viewed the social environment offered to youth with ID to be an important factor in the latter's considerations about open labour market work (Migliore et al., 2008).

Research about unemployment after employment does suggest a scarring psychological effect on the individuals who become unemployed, in terms of their outlook on the future and their current life satisfaction (Knabe & Rätzl, 2011). The individual's self-esteem is lowered after exiting employment (Goldsmith, Veum & Darity, 1996), which, in turn, lowers his/her probability of job mobility and career development (Knabe & Rätzl, 2011). Although this may be true for the youth at Utshintshe too, evidence suggests that their exit from employment may have been cushioned by a return to the supportive environment of the workshop. The ease with which they recounted an iterative journey is suggestive of their contentment with transitioning back into the programme environment, and their subsequent work transitions into employment are evidence of a retained job mobility.

While the option to transition back into the programme, and to use it as a launch pad for future work transitions, could be understood as a way in which Utshintshe continues to counter employment marginalisation, the possibility of an institutionalised response by the youth should not be ignored. Institutionalisation, the segregation of people with disabilities from society to the

confines of an institution, is and has been conceptualised as problematic and unacceptable, especially in modern times that consider societal integration and citizenship as ideal and justified states for people with disabilities (Galheigo, 2011; Griffo, 2014; Kay & Tisdall, 1994; Kregel, Wehman & Shafer, 1990; Silvers, 2012; Swartz et al., 2018; Van Houten & Jacobs, 2005; Watermeyer, Swartz, Lorenzo, Schneider & Priestley, 2006). It is in particular the approaches of the medical and individual models to people with disabilities that have informed the practice of institutionalisation, by separating people with disabilities from citizens who are perceived to operate at a functional norm in society and, as a result, can be understood as acceptable and included in society (Griffo, 2014). The workshop environment from where Utshintshe is run is a sheltered work environment for people with intellectual disabilities, and therefore, fits the description of an institution. While the employed youth who participated in the research had exited the workshop environment to transition into open labour market employment, returning to the institutional environment did not appear to be hugely problematic or disconcerting for them, and while it offered a safe environment for them to return to, did not change their narrative expressions about future potential work transitions. The findings further reflect that learning occurs through the iterative process, and the youth who transitioned back into Utshintshe may have found themselves in a privileged position of reflecting on this learning in an environment that supports and develops hope towards a next employment opportunity.

Research from the field of geography has, interestingly, contributed to scholarship on transitioning and intellectual disability by drawing attention to the roles of institutional, semi-institutional and non-institutional places in people's lives, and how these may constitute so-called safe spaces (Philo & Metzel, 2005). Philo and Metzel interpreted sites in Scotland that trained and guided people with intellectual disabilities towards re-entry into the open labour market as spaces offering safety, attachment and belonging. Butcher and Wilton (2008) subsequently questioned the desirability of paid mainstream work for youth with intellectual disabilities considering the likelihood of such transitions occurring between sheltered environments and competitive employment, and the important opportunities for social contact offered at workshops as institutions. They argue that

sheltered workshops as providers of different types of meaningful activity, including activities that enable transition into competitive employment, should recognise the socio-spatial values of commonality, sociability and belonging offered to youth with intellectual disabilities. Finally, based on the view that a disregard or devaluing of sheltered workshop spaces for people with intellectual disabilities may constitute a form of exclusion not previously acknowledged, Butcher and Wilton urge a revision of the concept of linear life course transition that is, in turn, based on a direct trajectory from school to employment.

An argument about the role of the work transition programme in promoting occupational justice despite work transition iterations could potentially be bolstered by regarding one youth participant's experience that was shared during data collection. Vuyani exited open labour market employment and returned to the work transition programme during the data collection period of the study. His experience may encompass important aspects and considerations for occupational justice, as it manifested in his recount and in the context of the programme he returned to.

The findings about Vuyani's return to the programme evidenced remarks alluding to an experience of hostility in the open labour market, which, after his return, transformed into reflections on himself as a worker and the things that he would do differently in a future work opportunity. This ability to learn from his experience and construct a trajectory towards future open labour market opportunities is undoubtedly positive and a reflection of his own and the programme's ability to influence further work transitions. At the same time, his almost passive exit from the open labour market (without contestations by the employer, himself or the programme) brings to mind the image of a "form" that was gradually ejected from a constituent where it did not fit, and from his own reporting afterwards, required some change in order to "fit better" in any future employment. Vuyani's response to his return to the work transition programme may be situated and informed by the medical model's regard of disability (Oliver, 2013), where the open labour market represents a pre-designed environment that accommodates people without disabilities, and exclude people with disabilities who do not conform to normative ability by virtue of having certain impairments.

This reality of the "medical model norm fit" was expressed or alluded to in remarks by research participants throughout the data collected in the study, for example by staff participants when they explained how the demonstration opportunities facilitated opportunities for employers to realise the "fit" between the youth and their workplaces, or in the way that the youth with intellectual disabilities are unable to "fit" with the literacy and numeracy requirements of a learnership, and therefore forfeited the credits needed to obtain a full learnership qualification. This enshrined practice of the medical model of disability in and by society points a reprehensible finger at the lack of infusion of the social model of disability committed to in local policy and legislation (Oliver, 2013; Shakespeare & Watson, 1997) such as the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

Vuyani's accepted exit from employment further highlights an absence of agency which could potentially have disrupted a discriminatory work space, and supported a sustained worker role. Galvaan (2015) draws attention to the relationship between exerting choice in occupations (for example to participate or not to participate) and social inequality, and states that the contexts within which choices are made (personal, relational, socio-historical, socio-economic, cultural) need to be appreciated to better understand occupational choices. The contextually situated nature of Vuyani's choice to exit employment bares consideration if Utshintshe aspired to influence his sense of agency in a disempowered, discriminatory social situation.

The response of the work transition programme to Vuyani's exit from the open labour market and his subsequent return to the programme could also be understood, though, as constructive towards the attainment of occupational justice, and may therefore remediate and counteract the injustice of being relegated to the margins of employment. Firstly, Vuyani was able to return to the activities of the programme when he exited employment and continue to participate in these towards future work transition, working alongside the job coach as in the past. Secondly, upon returning, Vuyani rejoined a culture that was found within the programme, and evidenced in the staff and youth's accounts during data collection, i.e. a "transitioning culture". This transitioning culture appeared to create a constant movement towards the "outside", meaning competitive

employment in the open labour market. Vuyani's re-immersion in this transitioning culture may have enabled him to develop his vision towards his next work transition, rather than construing the environment that he had returned to as stagnant, restraining and institutionalising.

In Vuyani's case, and as was evidenced by another youth who had returned to the programme, the option to be received back into the programme and the immediate reimmersion into a transitioning culture could contribute to the way in which the programme promotes occupational justice. The safe space created by the programme and the reorientation of the youth towards a further trajectory of work transition counteract the effect of having returned to the margins of employment when the youth exited the open labour market. While the open labour market system continues to view youth with disabilities from a medical model perspective, the programme is able to reorient the youths' trajectory towards the centre (rather than the margins) of open labour market employment, and challenging the restrictive margins through this transitioning culture.

Research literature supports this preservation and pursuit of competitive employment goals for youth with disabilities in work transition programmes as a factor in achieving successful transition (Wehman et al., 2013). It has also been proven that off-site work support, such as support offered to youth with disabilities in the work transition programme by job coaches, has a positive bearing on obtaining and maintaining employment (García-Iriarte, Balcazar & Taylor-Ritzler, 2007). The continued availability of the programme to youth who had transitioned, and the reorientation of a person who may return to the programme after open labour market employment, may be promoting occupational justice by not passively accepting a return to the margins of competitive employment, but rather by immediately investing in the youths' trajectory towards open labour market employment through taking him or her up into the transitioning culture.

Employed youth and those who had experienced work transition iterations, further reported a desire to guide and inspire unemployed youth in the programme by sharing their experiences and what they had learnt in the open labour market. This desire and acting upon it can be interpreted and viewed as components that support the transitioning culture because of the youths'

intentions to inspire and motivate their peers towards open labour market occupational opportunities. Guidance and support offered by older people with disabilities who act as mentors to youth with disabilities have been found to influence the motivation of youth to recognise and utilise opportunities, to develop a constructive response to failures, and to increase aspirations (Snowden, 2003). Olney, Compton, Tucker, Emery-Flores and Zuniga (2014) found that positive influences from mentors and peers drive people with disabilities toward work; influences that could be a projection of positive expectations on the person with a disability, or exposure to people with disabilities who are engaged in meaningful employment. The employed youths' desire to influence programme youths' motivation in this way, links their intentions to the transitioning culture of the programme.

7.5 The job coach as supporter of occupational justice

With an HRBA at its foundation, the programme's operations continued to be informed by principles of support in work transition and a developmental approach to the occupational abilities of youth with disabilities. The role of job coaches in transition support and facilitation of development was given prominence by youth in accounts of their experiences and perspectives. The job coaches' approach was reflective; firstly, of their validation of the youths' right to work, and secondly, of a supportive, developmental concern for the youths' work transition experience. Job coaches' approaches and interventions were evidently experienced as positive and encouraging by youth, and the primary role that they played in facilitating the youths' development in work skills and work experience constitutes a central way in which occupational deprivation and occupational marginalisation were countered.

Job coaches, in the context of SE, have been referred to as "employment specialists", "employment training specialists", "placement specialists", "job coordinators" or "job trainers" in international literature (Brooke, Revell & Green, 1998; Grossi, Test & Keul, 1991; Kregel et al., 1990; Tsang, Fung, Leung, Li & Cheung, 2010; Williams, Lloyd, Waghorn & Machingura, 2015), while the term "job coach" denotes the activities, roles and responsibilities of an employment specialist in South Africa (Van Niekerk et al., 2011; Van Niekerk et al., 2015; Ralphs, 2017).

Activities, roles and responsibilities of job coaches comprise an extensive range of support offered to the person with a disability who is transitioning into work, for example non-job advocacy with case managers, educators and landlords, facilitating work trial placements, and offering guidance in transportation planning (Van Niekerk et al., 2011). Literature is replete with evidence, statements and affirmations about the central role of job coaches in the success of SE and of their role in the integration of workers with disability in the workplace (Bennett, Brady, Scott, Dukes & Frain, 2010; Lidz & Smith, 2016; Parent, Unger, Gibson & Clements, 1994). Their reported attention to individualised goal setting with youth in relation to work transition has been found conducive to positive employment outcomes for people with intellectual disabilities in particular (Nord, Luecking, Mank, Kiernan & Wray, 2013). Fairly recently, in a South African study, Terreblanche (2015) offers further unrefuted evidence of the central role of job coaches in work transition for people with intellectual disabilities, and subsequently recommends that job coaching be an integral function in programmes geared towards work transitioning for this group.

More so than the mere presence or availability of a job coach in this programme, it was found that what the job coach did, and the way that she did it, contributed to the youths' development as workers and, in the case of youth who were employed, in their transition into real work. Grossi et al. (1991) assert that job coaches who are committed to the philosophy of SE and community integration of people with disabilities render high quality coaching and support to people with disabilities who participate in SE. Research has shown that some of the attributes of the job coaches found in this study, such as a sense of passion for the empowerment of youth with disabilities, termed "principled optimism" (Tilson & Simonsen, 2013, p. 133; Whitley, Kostick & Bush, 2010), and a deep awareness and understanding of contextual realities of youth with disabilities, or "cultural competency" (Tilson & Simonsen, 2013, p. 134; Lorenz, 2011), are prerequisite to job coaches working with transition-age youth. Whitley et al. (2010) further list persistence, hardiness and empathy as desirable job coach attributes that are associated with quality and success in SE. The job coaches in this study, but also other participants, for example one director and in some instances the participant employer, reflected attributes that went beyond

the mere "mechanics" (Tilson & Simonsen, 2013, p. 126) of coaching, typically referred to as job coach competencies (for example workplace supports, management of employer relationships and providing information about career opportunities).

Evidence about support further extend to the unique and individual relationship that was reported to exist between the youth with disabilities and the job coach, and in the case of two of the employed youth, between them and the employer. Much has been written about the importance of the relationship between youth and someone, usually an adult, who fulfils the role of a mentor in work transition. Lindstrom, Doren and Miesch (2011) found that adult mentors to youth with disabilities form essential links to the world of work for them, while promoting independent exploration and decision making. Doren et al. (2013) identify mentorship as a feature of best practice in school-to-work transition programmes, describing the one-on-one support offered by mentors, the reassurance that they give to youth, and their collective engagement in positive problem solving as supportive and conducive elements in the work transition experience. Lindsay et al. (2016) further confirm the power of mentorship between youth with a disability and an adult to reduce barriers to employment.

Having considered certain personal attributes of the job coaches involved in Utshintshe, it can be concluded that the manifestation of these attributes at the individual level of the job coach, influenced the experience of occupational justice of the youth with disabilities during their participation in the programme. These desired attributes displayed by job coaches drove them to facilitate the youths' transition into work in a dedicated way and, in doing so, counteracting the disabling effects of low self-confidence and lack of self-belief, knowledge, skill and power, on the potential to utilise occupational opportunities within the programme and eventually outside of the programme.

Literature conversely reports on desired personal attributes that research participants in this study identified as wanting in the job coaches of the programme, specifically business-oriented professionalism and networking know-how. The importance of these attributes is considered to be secondary to a job coach's strong desire to help people find and retain employment though, and

the ability to teach someone these attributes appears questionable (Tilson & Simonsen, 2013). Some evidence exists to suggest that the right personal attributes and a willingness to acquire new skills may take precedence over specific education backgrounds or work histories of successful employment specialists (Fraser, 1999; Tilson & Simonsen, 2013).

It seems evident that the roles of job coaches, and in particular the way that job coaches delivered support at Utshintshe, bridge a divide between policy that pertain to youth, employment and disability, and the realities of work transition requirements at the coalface of transition. In this context, job coaches therefore proved essential not just in the delivery of Utshintshe's activities to youth with disabilities, but, through individual inclinations and attributes, promoted the realisation of work transitions despite a lack of effective mechanisms and resources that are supposed to be available from policy implementation. It can be concluded that the job coaches at Utshintshe promoted occupational justice by confronting the marginalisation of youth with disabilities from open labour market employment with every means at their disposal, and managed to traverse the chasm between policy and resourced practices in their way.

7.5.1 Intrapersonal aspects of work transition

Attention to intrapersonal components of youth with disabilities at Utshintshe appeared to prepare and enable youth to benefit from participation in the programme, and to move towards transition into work or to transition into work. Through promoting the youths' self-esteem, self-belief and confidence, Utshintshe seemed to address work transition from a social cognitive perspective, i.e., that the belief of persons with disabilities in themselves as being capable (self-efficacy) has been related to their interests, goals and employment experiences in career development (Lent, Ezeofor, Morrison, Penn & Ireland, 2016) and employment outcomes (Van Niekerk, 2016). Bassett, Lloyd and Bassett (2001) found that young people with psychotic disorders experienced low self-esteem as a factor affecting their achievement of employment goals. Youth with physical disabilities who participated in a study that explored perceived barriers to and facilitators for obtaining and maintaining employment after undergoing a vocational rehabilitation intervention, concurred that self-esteem and self-efficacy are facilitators in their attainment of and sustaining

their employment (Bal et al., 2017). In another recent study, though, self-esteem was found not to be associated with employment outcomes for youth with visual impairments, although self-determination skills and locus of control were significantly associated with employment (McDonnall & Crudden, 2019). These researchers did acknowledge that their small sample size in the study (n=41) would have influenced the generalisability of results, while the data available for analysis were also 16 years old.

In an analysis of longitudinal data of youth without disabilities, Waddell (2006) found that attitude and self-esteem have important and long-lasting economic implications for this group. Youth who had graduated from high school and exhibited negative attitude and poor self-esteem attained fewer years of post-secondary education, were less likely to be in paid employment 14 years after graduating, were more likely to be unemployed, and were realising lower average earnings (Waddell, 2006). Dorsett and Lucchino (2014) further confirmed that they found low self-confidence to be a key risk factor in school-to-work trajectories, raising concerns about degrees of socio-economic polarisation in school-to-work transition. Further research with "at-risk" youth and research about the employability of graduates confirm the importance of self-esteem, self-confidence and self-efficacy in young people becoming employed (Pool & Sewell, 2007; Ridley & Wray, 2014).

The pertinence of intrapersonal components such as self-esteem and self-confidence in employment outcomes of youth with disabilities seems evident, leading to the conclusion that, in addressing these aspects, Utshintshe may have affected the youths' trajectory towards occupational justice through work transition.

7.6 Challenging the South African labour market for occupational justice

The labour market into which youth transition through the programme, and Utshintshe's response or approach to this labour market, affect the extent to which different forms of occupational injustice is or can be countered. Staff research participants expressed a realistic view

of the likelihood of the open labour market to absorb and accommodate *all* work seekers with disabilities within a context of high general unemployment. From within the constraints created by this untenable employment situation, a restrictive and exclusionary conceptualisation of work as it is accepted and enacted in society was proposed as a conduit to occupational marginalisation and deprivation of youth with disabilities. The findings reflected clear perceptions that equitable opportunities for entry into a limited number of jobs which are designed according to current societal norms of work, are virtually non-existent for youth with disabilities in competition with youth without disabilities. The unjust reality of marginalisation to segregated work environments and deprivation from real work therefore continue to predominate.

Beyond the unaccommodating macro-environment created by open labour market limitations, this study found that, at the point of entry into this market, employers' perceptions of disability and employment as well as their normative ableist viewpoints create barriers to youth with disabilities. Specifically, a lack of knowledge and understanding about disability, the right of people with disabilities to work, and concepts of reasonable accommodation in relation to youth with intellectual disabilities (for example job coaching as a reasonable accommodation measure) were perceived to fuel employers' prejudices towards disability employment, culminating in denial of work opportunities to youth.

Programme staff's contributions proposed that, without challenging and influencing the prevailing conceptualisations of paid work that inform and contribute to predominant prejudices against work seekers with disabilities and appeases the existing ignorance about their right to equal work opportunities, restrictions to the entry of youth with disabilities into the open labour market will remain unchanged. The notion of what constitutes real work was challenged by the programme in indirect ways, namely by securing job positions for youth in organisations that were amenable and receptive to the accommodation of youth with disabilities, such as NGOs, and by creating supported "demonstration" opportunities. Figure 7.3 diagrammatically presents Utshintshe's responses to the challenging open labour market context and the effect of the programme's efforts to promote occupational justice through work.

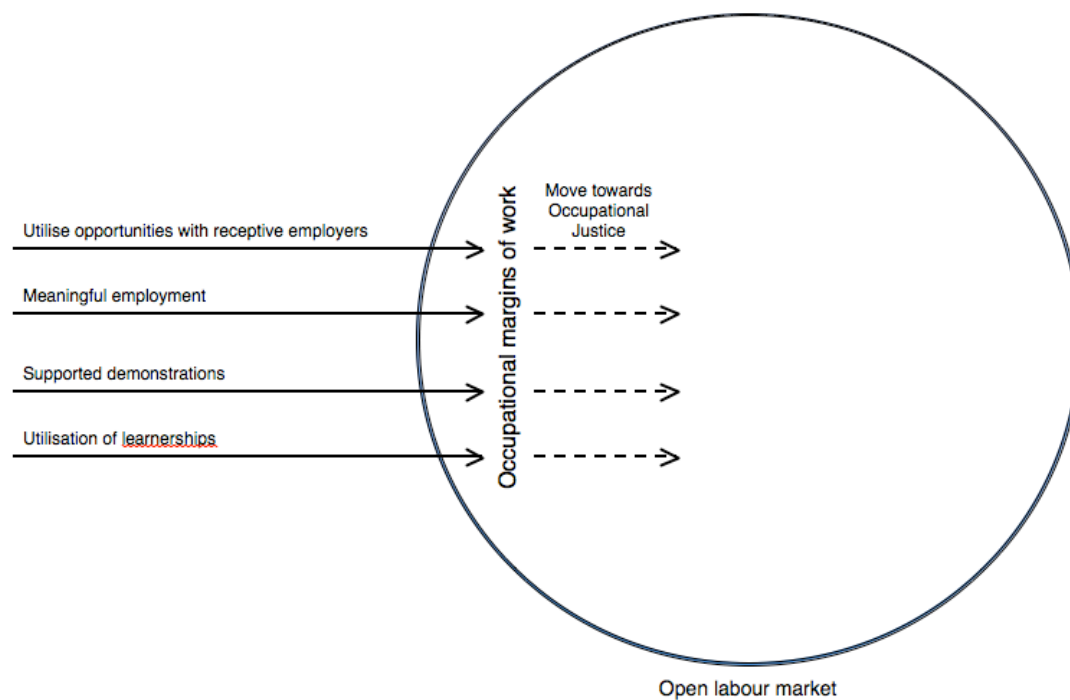


Figure 7.3 Utshintshe's approaches to confronting occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities in the open labour market

7.6.1 Promoting occupational justice in a receptive employment sector

The issue of work as a concept and its representation in different sectors of the open labour market warrant some discussion, after these were found to be contentious in this study and, by implication, their impact on occupational justice for youth with disabilities. Open labour market employment comprises work done in jobs that are available and open to people without disabilities in the general job market; in other words, not work performed in segregated environments by people with disabilities. Any work available to the general public, therefore, is performed in the open labour market, but in this study it was found that some participants regarded some jobs to be "less part" of the open labour market in terms of their perceived meaningfulness to people with disabilities. Such jobs, utilised in the case of this study, were made available in the NGO sector.

NGOs, typically, are organisations that do not operate to generate a profit, but focus on development initiatives concerned with service delivery, building of capacity or influencing policy (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). This sector has come to be regarded as an important role player in bridging the gaps left by the state in terms of services to civil society and social protection (Juckes,

2016). South Africa as a developing country has "one of the most vibrant NGO sectors" in Africa (Kumaran, Samuel & Winston, 2012, p. 31) with a proud history of NGO activists contributing to the fall of the Apartheid regime that was marked by the first democratic elections in 1994. The sector has since established itself as a role player in the South Africa economy by providing jobs for 645 000 full-time equivalent employees in 1998, and accounting for \$1.7 billion in revenues and expenditure in the same year. The number of registered NGOs has grown by 573% between 2000 and 2011 (Kumaran et al., 2012). Currently, the sector comprises more than 100 000 registered NGOs rendering a significant contribution to the economic and social well-being of South Africans by offering meaningful and attractive employment opportunities (Mathur, 2017; Matthews, 2017; Statistics South Africa, 2014b).

While it could be accepted that the NGO sector may be a viable role player in the creation of open labour market employment in South Africa, work opportunities in this sector and their perceived meaningfulness proved contentious in this study. Work performed at NGOs is regarded, different from work in the private sector, as "conscientised work" (Brandi, 2012, p. 1), implying that employees in the sector are assumed to be motivated by values reflective of social consciousness more than monetary and material goals. With goals of improving or supporting civil society where governments may have fallen short, NGOs were developed from (and are still strongly oriented towards) a base of volunteerism, with structures and operations different to the for-profit employment sector (Kumaran et al., 2012; Matthews & Nqaba, 2017; Mitlin, Hickey & Bebbington, 2006). In recent years though, NGOs as employers have become much more professional, to the extent that in certain instances they are considered to effectively compete with the corporate sector in terms of benefits offered to employees, performance management and training, and even compensation benchmarking (Mathur, 2017).

Considering the position of NGOs as agents to civil society with social goals of developing vulnerable and marginalised populations, and their position in the economy as providers of open labour market employment opportunities, it could be argued that NGOs are uniquely suited to promote occupational justice through employment to youth with disabilities. In this study, the NGO

from where the work transition programme is run provided readily available opportunities for work skills development in an environment already sensitised to the needs of youth with intellectual disabilities, while work placements at other NGOs were found and supported with relative ease.

7.6.2 Promoting occupational justice through meaningful work

Considering the NGO sector as a viable provider of open labour market employment opportunities, some research participants raised the contention of whether work in this sector constitutes meaningful work or not, and whether opportunities for development and growth exist here for youth with disabilities. Evidence from research participants in relation to subjective meaning found in the jobs that they performed at NGOs suggests that the staff's concern in this regard was unfounded. Concepts of increased independence and autonomy related to receiving an income were presented in the research evidence, as well as other meanings of work, such as the acquisition of a new identity, specifically that of a worker identity, and taking on the role of a worker with all commensurate responsibilities and benefits. The youth further expressed associations with choice within the worker role, and a sense of ownership of this role. Meaning found by people with disabilities in work has been researched and confirmed through multiple studies, and include the following: the structuring of time, distraction from impairment and pain, and developing and sustaining social contacts (Blank, Harries & Reynolds, 2013; Leufstadius et al., 2009; Schedin, Ruoranen, Ostermann & Reinhardt, 2016); providing a sense of belonging and being socially included (Blank et al., 2013; Guevara & Ord, 1996; Leufstadius et al., 2009); the ability to learn, earn a salary and develop self-efficacy (Brown et al., 2001; Caudron, 1997; Leufstadius et al., 2009; Peterson, Gordon & Neale, 2017); and a sense of responsibility (Leufstadius et al., 2009; Peterson et al., 2017). With the youths' expressions resonating with evidence found in work literature, it could be deduced that the youths' work experiences in the context where it was offered, namely the NGO sector, were meaningful to them; and with foundation of occupational justice being dependent upon the meaning obtained from occupational participation (Agner, 2017), it could further be concluded that the youths' participation in meaningful work countered the injustices of occupational alienation and occupational apartheid – injustices characterised by lack

of meaning in occupation (Malfitano, De Souza & Lopes, 2016) – and thus promoted occupational justice for them.

7.6.3 Promoting occupational justice through supported demonstrations

Another way in which the programme countered the injustice of a labour market that seems virtually impenetrable to youth with disabilities was to design and make use of opportunities that allowed the youth to demonstrate what they were capable of, while relevant and appropriate support is offered to them as well as the employer (as per the SE model). These placement opportunities created a safe, low-risk and supported environment for the youth and the employer within which to build relationships and competencies, and enacted the SE principles of focusing resources and efforts in the endeavour of competitive employment (rather than treatment or sheltered work), and of placing then training the person with a disability in the job rather than training the person pre-employment (Bond, 1998, 2004; Weston, 2002). Opportunities to work alongside workers without disabilities contest the natural tendencies of work places to maintain a low tolerance for diversity and the collective unconsciousness of work practices that promote segregation (Wolfensberger & Tullman, 1982). The reality of people with disabilities having to extend themselves to prove their value in or their contribution to society does not go unnoticed in the scenario of work demonstration opportunities though. This reality remains unjust because it locates opportunity disparity in a medical model of disability where the onus is left with the person with a disability to prove that they fit rather than on society to enable inclusion (Oliver, 2013; Shakespeare & Watson, 1997). The programme's approach to and utilisation of these opportunities, though, followed a "path of least resistance" towards inclusion in employment, by creating a "safe" and supported environment for the employee to gain and practise work skills and competence, and for the employer to learn about and observe the abilities of youth with intellectual disabilities.

As the findings prove, youth had obtained permanent employment in some cases through this strategy. Having established the programme's commitment to the human right to work of the

youth with disabilities, it could be argued that it was this commitment that drove programme staff to explore strategies like demonstration opportunities, rather than accepting employers' initial resistance to employing someone with a disability and, in this way, advocate for opportunities for youth in the open labour market sector. The impact on occupational justice seems clear with youth moving from the margins of employment into the open labour market and participating in work occupation to the detriment of occupational deprivation.

7.6.4 Learnerships, funding and occupational justice

The work transition programme in this study utilised learnerships as its primary government vehicle to facilitate work transitions for youth with disabilities, and had been doing it for more than a decade. Learnership programmes as skills development tool and facilitator of entry into employment are designed to include funding and support to employed and unemployed people to attain skills and qualifications that will enhance their employability or further their careers. Study participants reported the shortcomings and restrictions of the learnership system, for example, in relation to insufficient accommodation of learners with intellectual disabilities. As such, the role of learnerships as a factor in attaining occupational justice through employment for youth with disabilities needs to be considered.

Literature reflects and confirms evidence from this study about general difficulties and frustrations with the learnership system in South Africa. Different sectors of industry have investigated their sector's response to and utilisation of learnerships. The construction sector, for example, found major dissatisfaction by employers and training providers with a range of system aspects, including the quality of learnership outcomes, funding, unsuitable learnership content, and lack of information and communication from the SETA responsible for training in the sector (Mummenthey & Du Preez, 2010). Although learners as the primary beneficiaries expressed a high level of satisfaction with learnerships, they too reported being frustrated with non-completion of qualifications due to financial controversies between the training provider and the SETA as well as extensive delays in certification which reportedly impeded their employability (Mummenthey & Du Preez, 2010). Interestingly though, Mummenthey and Du Preez's research also found that

employers and training providers throughout considered the learnership system appropriate as a means to develop artisans for the construction industry, signifying that their criticisms of the system related to practical implementation issues rather than the general concept of learnerships).

Research in particular continues to report on the value and success of learnerships as a strategy to promote employment for unskilled, previously unemployed, young South Africans (Kraak, 2013; Visser & Kruss, 2009). Very recently it was found that, while the media criticises the SETAs' apparent mismanagement of public funds, research summaries indicate a positive trajectory for the SETAs despite persistent problems in the sector (Turner, Halabi, Sartorius & Arendse, 2018). Systematic large-scale research found that, in practice, learnerships are increasingly creating employment for vulnerable groups at intermediate and low skill levels, rather than being dictated to by labour market demand for specific and scarce skills (Visser & Kruss, 2009). A particular learnership in the Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority (W&RSETA), namely a National Certificate in Informal Small Business Practice, contributed significantly to social transformation through rural entrepreneurship (Koyana & Mason, 2017). This learnership reportedly empowered disadvantaged women and youth, although the researchers cautioned that for the learnership to be transformative, it should offer high quality training as well as practical outcomes, and be facilitated by training providers and programme managers who are highly committed.

Contrary findings about learnerships prove that they may be failing as a skills development system when young unemployed people pursue learnerships at levels lower than their existent skills or qualification levels for the purpose of merely gaining workplace-related certification and, for that matter, an income in the context of high unemployment (Visser & Kruss, 2009). Visser and Kruss assert that misalignment between skills offered through learnerships and those demanded by the labour market may cause a devaluation in the labour-market exchange, resulting in learnerships being perceived as low-status and low-skills qualifications. It was found that a sizeable number of unemployed youth (43%) who had completed learnerships at low skill levels (NQF 1 to 3) had not become employed subsequent to their participation (Visser & Kruss, 2009),

and that the work-integrated-learning partnership (learner, trainer, employer) utilised in learnerships to enhance employment gain is not guaranteeing employability (Govender & Taylor, 2015). These data support the reality that the labour market is saturated with low skill-level workers and promote the concern that such learnerships continue to churn out work seekers to feed the oversupply at this level (Akoojee, Gewer & Mcgrath, 2005).

The value or role of learnerships in promoting employment for young people with disabilities, has not been investigated and documented sufficiently. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) reports that people with disabilities perceive learnerships systems and structures as inflexible (ILO, 2007), similar to the views expressed in this study about rigid and unaccommodating regulations and operations. A qualitative case study examined the experiences and perceptions of learners with disabilities, training providers and employers, and concluded that learnerships indeed have the potential to effectively facilitate employment for people with disabilities, and to generate skills for people with disabilities that could lead to sustainable employment (Merrill, 2012). Merrill's sentiment about such employment possibilities is echoed by Ariefdien (2016) in an anecdotal account of a specific learnership project in the Western Cape. Ariefdien's account does not present statistics or outcome measures of sustainable employment acquired after completion of the learnerships though, and Merrill's study did not aim to present quantitative data about learnership efficacy for people with disabilities. Research rather evidenced that many learnership programmes remain inaccessible to people with disabilities due to the entrance requirements based on adequate levels of education that are often not offered or available to youth with disabilities (McKinney, 2013; Ned-Matiwane, 2013).

At the core of their argument, Visser and Kruss (2009) support Du Toit's (2005) recommendation that skills development strategies should develop in concurrence with economic growth and job-creation strategies, and that SETAs separate their mandates for employment creation and skills development aimed at filling skills gaps in the labour market. Separate mechanisms should then be developed that fulfil each mandate, and that are not to the detriment of the other (Visser & Kruss, 2009). The notion of people with disabilities rotating through

learnerships and low-level positions without prospects for career growth may be kerbed when appointments are made on the basis of desired skills attained through learnerships (Potgieter, Coetzee & Ximba, 2017). Learnerships may, therefore, be an appropriate instrument to facilitate work transition for vulnerable groups such as youth with disabilities, especially when the conception of these learning programmes to create entry for unemployed people is considered. The benefits to be obtained from participating in learnerships, for example increased training and skill, certification and potential employment, also appear to outweigh the difficulties caused by frustrating and dubious administrative processes of SETAs and potential continued unemployment after completion of a learnership. For the plight of youth with disabilities, the trend of low-level learnerships generating and contributing to an oversupply of low-skilled work seekers is concerning and contradictory to the original intentions of the national skills development strategy, which is to supply a labour force with scarce and desired skills in the labour market. This trend must be considered for its role in promoting occupational injustice through employment, if youth with disabilities are upskilled just to remain part of a low-skilled oversupply of labour and do not transition into work because of its unavailability.

Despite dichotomous views on learnerships, the programme under study utilised this tool in response to a lack of opportunity and access to open labour market opportunities for the youth that they serve. Findings show that the programme navigated the learnership landscape on behalf of youth with disabilities to ensure that opportunities to participate were afforded them despite system barriers. It was in particular the programme's approach to funding made available through learnerships that supported the sustained utilisation of learnership opportunities and work transition for youth with disabilities.

7.6.4.1 Accessing funding to achieve occupational justice

Utshintshe faced the same challenge as multiple programmes in the health and social development sectors, namely to secure sufficient funding for effective and sustainable programme operations. Funding available from learnership programmes often excluded or restricted the crucial support services rendered by job coaches due to the lack of understanding and/or articulation in

funding policies about job coaching for youth with intellectual disabilities. In the case of state funding (subsidies), allocations were too little to contribute to a sustained job coach service for the youth. The lack of sufficient funds to adequately service the work transition needs of youth with disabilities is not a unique plight of South Africa. Despite acknowledgement that success in programmes serving youth with disabilities is dependent upon ongoing support (Groce, 1999) and thus on adequately prioritised funding, research presents evidence about funding as a major factor in transition services to people with disabilities (Butcher & Wilton, 2008; Morris, 2001). In the Global North, neoliberal workfare policies have influenced disability and funding policies to direct employment services towards people with moderate to mild disabilities who are perceived to be "closer" to the open labour market (Harris, Owen & Gould, 2012, p. 831). As a result, disabling social and structural factors that influence access to employment are discounted and not addressed through prioritised funding, and work seekers with more severe disabilities are not served (Harris et al., 2012).

Even SE, which has been proven as a superior strategy for facilitating work transitions for people with disabilities (Bond, Drake & Becker, 2008; Crowther, Marshall, Bond & Huxley, 2001; Lehman et al., 2002; Mueser et al., 1997), is not adequately funded in countries where it is recognised and implemented (Becker et al., 2006). In South Africa, the model of SE is not widely used and has only recently started to find expression in limited legislative and policy documents and research literature (Engelbrecht et al., 2017; Ralphs, 2017; Van Niekerk et al., 2011; Van Niekerk et al., 2015). As a strategy to enhance employment outcomes for people with intellectual disabilities though, SE has been researched and lauded internationally (Fasching, 2014; Wehman, Chan, Ditchman & Kang, 2014) and locally (Terreblanche, 2015). The work transition programme examined in this study followed evidence-based practice by applying a model so relevant to the employment needs of the youth with disabilities that it served, despite its lack of implementation in the local context.

Literature emphasises the importance of collaborative funding efforts between different sectors and stakeholders, and between local and state levels, to support and ensure adequate and

sustainable service delivery to people with disabilities into employment (Becker et al., 2006; Hart et al., 2001; Whelley, Hart & Zafft, 2002). In this study, it was rather *how* the programme approached their funding applications than *who* they approached that seemed to contribute to their success in obtaining funds to sustain Utshintshe. Study findings evidenced the programme staff's determination, resilience, creativity and innovation in securing funding year after year, and in some instances advocating for and contesting funding items and regulations that would naturally exclude youth with intellectual disabilities, for example by denying job coaches the status of "assistive devices" as a funded item, or terminating a subsidy once a youth had been placed in employment but is still supported by a job coach. The programme's efforts were targeted at policy as well as operational levels, demonstrating a pervasive commitment to its disability equality and human rights agenda, and its acknowledgement of the fact that efforts at every level is needed to effect change.

The attributes of the programme staff discussed earlier, in this case the staff who took on the responsibility of securing ongoing funding for programme operations, seem to come into focus again here. More so than the actions taken by the staff, it appears to be the underlying drive and motivation for these actions that enabled staff to navigate the challenging arenas of funding applications. Traits of highly effective employment specialists working with transition-age youth can be attributed to these staff, such as principled optimism, the belief that their actions positively impact the youth whom they serve (i.e., high levels of self-efficacy) and hardiness (Tilson & Simonsen, 2013). Fraser (1999) described the ability of staff to maintain enthusiasm and positivism as desirable attributes of rehabilitation counsellors involved with employment placement of people with disabilities. These attributes, along with the capacity for creativity, were demonstrated in this work transition programme through the staff's tireless and ongoing efforts to obtain funding year on year (Fraser, 1999).

It could be concluded, therefore, that the programme's approaches and efforts to secure ongoing funding were informed and driven by the foundational ideology of human rights, and delivered by staff who displayed the necessary desirable attributes that would contribute to

successful work transitions for the youth with disabilities. As such, the specific staff's continued efforts and successes in obtaining funding (albeit modest in some instances) contributed to the promotion of occupational justice by facilitating work transitions that involved the necessary support and resources to enhance employment sustainability. Occupational marginalisation from employment opportunities was reduced or counteracted in this way, as well as deprivation from participation in work.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the discussion of findings offered in Chapter 6, based on further analyses of the research findings. In conclusion, the work transition programme under study promoted occupational justice through work by applying a HRBA to the programme design, activities and delivery. The programme staff's personal and natural inclinations to serve youth with intellectual disabilities appeared to infuse their HRBA to the youth and Utshintshe, while a converse effect (i.e., HRBA influencing the staff's regard for youth) also seemed to be present. It was further concluded that the SE model selected by the staff of Utshintshe to facilitate work transition, appropriately matched the support needs of youth with intellectual disabilities, and as a result, contributed to the promotion of occupational justice.

Another conclusion in the discussion was that job coaches as central role players at Utshintshe, managed to deliver the activities of the programme and fulfil their facilitatory roles despite the challenges inherent to lack of resources (including funding) brought on by failures of policy implementation. The job coaches thus, through employing personal attributes such as resilience, dedication and creativity, combatted the occupational marginalisation of youth with disabilities when work transition was effected or when youth moved along a trajectory towards work transition.

It was concluded that Utshintshe promoted occupational justice through the provision of a "safety net" available if youth exited open labour market employment and returned to the programme. Youths' acceptance back into Utshintshe and their immediate reimmersion into the

"transitioning culture" of Utshintshe, supported their movement toward a next work transition opportunity, and counteracted a potential return to occupational marginalisation.

Utshintshe also promoted occupational justice through their approach to a restrictive South African labour market by identifying and utilising the NGO sector as an appropriate and well-matched employment sector for youth with intellectual disabilities to transition into. It was concluded that the meaningfulness found by youth study participants in work in this sector reflected a counter-effect to occupational marginalisation as a form of occupational injustice. Devising supported demonstration opportunities of the abilities of youth with disabilities also represented an approach of Utshintshe that promoted work transition for youth and subsequent occupational justice through work.

In conclusion, Utshintshe successfully harnessed the potential of learnerships as work transition vehicles and in doing so, utilised this skills development strategy of the government to effect work transitions for youth with disabilities.

Chapter 8 : Conclusions and Recommendations

This final chapter of the dissertation summarises the important conclusions from the study. The limitations of the study and the methodology used are listed, and the contributions of this work are clarified. Finally, I make recommendations based on the findings for future research, practitioners who work in the field of disability and employment, and to policy makers.

8.1 Conclusions of the study

The research study reported in this dissertation set out to answer a question about the promotion of occupational justice through work for youth with disabilities, and in particular, how work transition programmes achieve such a goal, if at all. To answer this research question, I took a critical occupational view within a critical ethnographic approach and examined the philosophies, operations and outcomes of the Utshintshe work transition programme in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. These critical orientations to the data analysis directed my attentions and reasoning to potential underlying and unseen factors and dynamics that may influence Utshintshe's operations and outcomes, and bear consequences for the employment outcomes of youth with disabilities. Being able to unearth norms taken for granted, ways of thinking, and realities was important to the study's consideration of how these may influence access and availability to open labour market work opportunities for youth with disabilities.

Utshintshe as a programme was considered along with the youth who participate in the programme, those who had become employed and those who had not, as well as other role players and stakeholders, such as the job coach in the programme and an employer involved with Utshintshe. The answers to the research question were found in Utshintshe's guiding foundations, namely a human rights-based approach (HRBA) to all their activities, interventions and interactions with youth with disabilities. I found that the programme's efforts resisted the injustice of occupational marginalisation of youth in work, by applying the strategies proposed by the Supported Employment (SE) model, and capitalising on the benefits of the support element that

strongly underlies the SE model. Utshintshe effectively utilised and harnessed the support of the job coach, youth peers, families and the employer to create a transitioning culture within the programme, supportive of youths' trajectories towards "outside" work, and towards occupational justice through work.

While the above conclusion illustrates Utshintshe's focus on the youth and how to facilitate them into "outside" work, it must be noted that the programme also focussed their efforts on the labour market as a macro-environment into which youth needed to transition. Utshintshe showed creativity and dedication in their approach towards a restrictive open labour market that marginalises or excludes youth with disabilities, by utilising employment opportunities in a seemingly receptive employment sector, namely the non-governmental (NGO) sector. In this sector, youth could move into a somewhat sensitised environment that approached work differently from the for-profit sector. Youth gained meaningful employment through these channels and, as a central concept in occupational justice, meaningfulness promoted their movement from the margins of employment closer to the centre of employment in the open labour market.

An overall conclusion to the study is that Utshintshe as a work transition programme for youth with disabilities, promoted occupational justice for this group by utilising resources and mechanisms at their disposal in committed and ingenious ways. The programme's foundational orientation to disability and employment appeared to steer all efforts and approaches in the programme, and offered compelling resistance to the marginalising effect of a restrictive open labour market on youth with disabilities.

8.2 Contributions to knowledge

Answering the research question of this study – *How do work transition programmes promote occupational justice for youth with disabilities?* – contributes to the information available in the South African context about the resources, utilisation and outcomes for youth with disabilities in relation to employment. Research foci on this particular vulnerable group have been lacking in the local context, partly due to the tendency to generalise youth with disabilities under the "disability"

category. Similarly, a focus on young people with disabilities had been assuaged in policies and programme initiatives that are geared to develop the general youth population of South Africa. This study, therefore, serves to contribute information about the employment needs and endeavours of youth with disabilities as a vulnerable, designated group in South Africa.

The study, furthermore, contributes knowledge to the gap in evidence about work transitions of youth with disabilities in a developing, resource-constrained context. Such evidence becomes particularly pertinent because occupational injustices easily flourish in an environment of prevailing disparities. The knowledge and evidence from this study about ways of promoting occupational justice can contribute to the development of effective delivery mechanisms of work transition to youth with disabilities and other vulnerable groups excluded from employment.

The study, finally, through explicating the *how* aspect of promoting occupational justice through work, contributes to a body of knowledge about the occupation of work and its application in a resource-constrained environment to attain opportunity. By researching the *how* aspect, the findings commented and showed the potentially complementary relationship between influencing micro-level factors (such as intrapersonal psychological components of functions) and macro-level factors (such as the realities of the open labour market) in efforts towards occupational justice. This supports Shaw and Rudman's (2009) proposition to study work transitions at these different levels, and focuses the findings on how such micro- and macro-level influences were utilised by Utshintshe to promote occupational justice.

8.3 Study limitations

Due to the scope of the study and the timelines related to PhD research, the study was limited to researching one work transition programme in a South African province. This province has the lowest prevalence of disability in the country. Furthermore, the district served by the programme was a metropolitan municipality district, with the lowest prevalence of disability amongst the provincial districts. The research setting, thus, may have limited the particulars and

extent of information to be gained about youth with disabilities and the scope of work transition programmes in South Africa.

While other studies about occupational justice through work have not been done in South Africa, a focus on one programme that was accessible to me as researcher was indicated and realistic for the purpose of establishing initial findings in this field of study. Findings may only be transferable to contexts in South Africa and other countries that are similar to the one described, but the methodology can be utilised in diverse study settings to address the question about practices that promote occupational justice through work.

The group size of the employed youth with disabilities who participated in the research was limited to three men. These participants were the only employed youth at the time who had participated in Utshintshe, and who were available to participate in the study. The size of the group and the fact that all group members were men may have had a limiting impact on the diversity of perspectives from the group.

The omission of participant observation as a method of data collection may have limited the degree of veracity that could have been obtained through triangulation with data from other data collection methods. While time constraints and some ethical considerations resulted in participant observation not being used as a data collection method, the data obtained from interviews, focus group interviews, observations and reflective journalling, and a documents review were utilised as effectively as possible to triangulate information.

8.4 Recommendations

8.4.1 Recommendations to practitioners

The conclusions of this study imply that occupational justice can be promoted on micro- and macro-levels within resource-constrained contexts where disparities prevail. As South African practitioners, we have not developed a sufficient awareness of and sensitivity to occupational justice in our practice, partly due to prevailing assumptions about the concept being situated in

theoretical environments such as academia. A lack of interrogation of the concepts of occupational justice and occupational injustice in practice therefore endures, even though South African practitioners have traditionally practiced in ways closely attuned to the needs of their clientele. The findings of this study suggest that further indicators of occupational justice may be revealed if we are to take a critical view of everyday occupational therapy practice in the realm of work. Constant scrutiny of practice within a framework of occupational justice may enable occupational therapists (as well as other stakeholders interested in promoting occupational justice) to develop the tools and means to increasingly align the practice of facilitating youth with disabilities into employment, with the promotion of occupational justice.

As in this study, a critical analytical view of practice will be required to identify potentially unquestioned assumptions of and influences on practitioners, organisations, institutions and systems within which practitioners work, policy makers, and socio-political environments that perpetuate injustices such as occupational marginalisation of people with disabilities who want to transition into work. Recent generations of practitioners in South Africa exit tertiary studies with a higher level of awareness and sensitivity towards issues of occupational justice, but the translation of that sensitivity into a practice that actively resists occupational injustices does not necessarily occur naturally. Lack of confidence, understanding and knowledge about how to promote an occupational justice agenda in practice may be some of the reasons why practitioners do not overtly link their practice to occupational justice. One way to intensify and reinforce the occupational justice agenda of occupational therapy practice may be through establishing localised forums that comprise practitioners and stakeholders who partner with them (for example, employers, the disability population and government) to provide the platforms for critical analysis of work transition practices. Knowledge shared and learning that takes place at such forums could then directly influence the practices and approaches of forum members, as well as policy at their institutions, organisations or industry. A further practical suggestion of how to incorporate occupational justice principles into practice may be the inclusion of education activities that conscientise clients (people with disabilities and stakeholders such as employers) to worker rights

and the exercise of personal and worker agency in work spaces. Job coaches in the context of SE are uniquely positioned to offer such exposure.

The conclusions from this study highlighted the powerful relationship between SE as a strategy in disability employment, an HRBA, and the promotion of occupational justice. It may be opportune for practitioners who work in work transition to explore the inclusion of SE in their practice, or expand an existing skills set to incorporate SE methods and tools in practice. Opportunities to learn from fellow practitioners who utilise SE, and to build confidence in applying the SE model, may be facilitated through creating communities of practitioners, similar or related to the forums mentioned before. Such practice communities would have a clear focus of promoting occupational justice through the utilisation of the SE model in the respective contexts that practitioners come from, and for the different disability communities that they serve.

8.4.2 Recommendations to policy makers

Based on the conclusions of this study, policy design in the realms of social development and labour should note the unjust effects of excluding youth with disabilities from employment opportunities. The shortcomings of policies that are supposed to direct development of youth with disabilities and employment were clear in this research. Inadequate and vague foci on this population as a designated group in South Africa may be elaborated and sharpened to include measurable objectives in terms of open labour market employment, opportunities into work, and work transition services.

As such, policies that address youth development and services to youth may feature youth with disabilities more prominently when a clear definition of this group is developed. In policies about people with disabilities and disability issues, more specificity may also be needed about the population of young people with disabilities as a sub-group of people with disabilities. Furthermore, spelling out the measures, tools and methods at the disposal of policy implementers for including youth with disabilities in employment may empower organisations, industry and institutions in the endeavour of disability employment. Developing employment quotas for youth with disabilities, for

example, as have been done for other designated groups in South Africa, may promote the disability employment agenda more effectively.

The pertinence of SE as a model that supports the promotion of occupational justice through work validates attention of policy makers to this study outcome. While it is true that SE requires further development in South Africa, promoting or strengthening the practice of SE through policy guidelines could provide an impetus for the practice to be explored and included by work transition practitioners. The National Rehabilitation Policy (Department of Health, 2000) and the more recent Framework and Strategy for Disability and Rehabilitation Services in South Africa (Department of Health, 2015) prioritise vocational rehabilitation to assist people with disabilities into employment. These policies may be enhanced if SE is defined as a strategy to be used in vocational rehabilitation. Including SE in policy guidelines may direct state funding and budgets to promote the development of SE for people with disabilities who want to transition into work.

The utilisation of learnerships as a mechanism to facilitate work transitions of youth with disabilities, also presented as important in the conclusions of this study. Joint policies by the DoL and the DoE that direct learnership practices in the country may be enhanced with a focus on youth with disabilities and how learnership processes can be sensitive and responsive to learning and employment needs of this group. In particular, policy aspects that address access to learnership opportunities, reasonable accommodation for youth with disabilities, and support and coaching to enhance these youths' through-put in learnerships could steer learnerships as skills development strategies closer to the promotion of occupational justice.

8.4.3 Recommendations for further research

This study investigated a contextualised work transition programme in a metropolitan district in the Western Cape Province. Further research with a critical focus on work transition programmes in different contexts may generate further methods, approaches and practices for promoting occupational justice. Contexts may include peri-urban, rural and deep rural areas where resources and socio-political environments are diverse. Research in these contexts may further

expand our knowledge on, for example, resources such support that were found to be meaningful in this study. Such knowledge could potentially contribute to the development of a practice model for the promotion of occupational justice through work.

It would also be important to conduct research on this topic that includes youth from disability groups other than intellectual disability. The pertinence of the SE model used by Utshintshe to effect work transitions for youth with intellectual disabilities was pointed out by this study, but SE has also been proven as effective in work transitions of people with other psychiatric disabilities. Furthermore, it is possible that models or approaches other than SE could be utilised effectively in work transition of youth with disabilities, and this area of research can contribute to the body of knowledge on occupational justice through work.

Research about the ability of youth with disabilities to transition into work without the assistance or support of a work transition programme could advance our knowledge of what else may be needed for youth to encourage their attainment of occupational justice, other than what was identified from this study. In the context of insufficient work transition programmes and under-resourced services, it would be important to learn about the possibilities of promoting occupational justice through work in the absence of structured services, such as the services offered by a programme like Utshintshe.

The exploratory nature of the research methodology utilised in this study proved useful in investigating the knowledge gap on issues of youth with disabilities and employment. Further exploratory research on occupational justice and work transition programmes may be indicated while this field presents a novel focus and little is known or understood about it.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter summarised the main conclusions of the study on how a work transition programme promoted occupational justice for youth with disabilities. I also explicated the contribution that the study brought to the knowledge spheres of occupational justice through work, and work transitions of youth with disabilities. The study limitations were listed and briefly

contextualised, and I made recommendations to practitioners in the field of occupational justice, to policy makers who influence youth with disabilities and employment, and to researchers for further exploration on the topic of employment and youth with disabilities.

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Addenda

Addendum A: Example of a topic guide

List of questions I want answered:

- How does the programme assist youth with disabilities into open labour market employment?
- How does the programme (its fundamentals/staff) regard youth with disabilities?

Possible questions to programme director:

- How long have you been managing the programme?
- What are your qualifications/previous experience?
- How was the programme developed?
- How does it operate at the moment?
- Have you successfully facilitated youth with disabilities into open labour market employment through the programme?
- What do youth who participate in the programme say about it?
- And those who have started work outside of the programme?
- What do you think are the strengths of the programme?
- What do you think must still develop further or needs to change in the programme?

Addendum B: Example of a follow-up interview guide

Background/context information about Utshintshe and The development of Work Transition at Utshintshe

- Everyone used to do the same...
- Transformation in early 2000's toward services tailored to different levels of functioning
- Focus shift towards disability as a human rights issue
- Doors opened for people with physical disabilities, into the OLM – role of EEA
- Intellectual disabilities not one of the disabilities considered for the OLM
- TWU decided to pioneer a work transition program for their service users
- Available staff's level of training and experience in OLM
- Sourcing funding from NYDA for this purpose (from National Youth Service Unit)
- Birth of Ntshintshe-1... offering services in the community, on a skills development basis
- Attitudes of disbelief
- 40 candidates from the four workshops – training in entry level jobs
- Compliance with unit standards – focused on commercial cleaning, assistant carer for children/disabled people/older people, gardening
- Classroom activities (1 day/wk) and service activities (4 days/wk) (voluntary at community organisations, e.g. crèches, old age homes, special care centres)
- Accompanied/assisted by job coach – interface between person with disability and employer
- Working in groups, then pairs, then (maybe) alone
- Travelling independently – building confidence
- Public's understanding of mental illness v intellectual disability
- Assurance to employers: "if it doesn't work, we'll take them away..."
- Having to make changes in supervision and/or placements
- Workers in new comfort zone – introduced rotating community placement opportunities
- All of this still functioning like a bridge into OLM
- End of first cycle – some employed, some needed jobs to be sourced...transitioning into Supported Employment
- Sharing new cycle of funding with people from previous cycle – covering job coaches who coaches 10 old and 10 new workers.
- Provincial roll-out of Ntshintshe-1 to rural/semi-rural areas (10 programmes, incl. Beaufort-Wes, Vredendal, George, Oudtshoorn, Paarl, Cape Town) – appointed programme manager, employed more job coaches, capacity building
- Service level agreement with APD
- Programme administered funds from Umsobumvu Youth Fund – job coach salaries, stipends, accommodation & travelling
- Programme responsible for monitoring and quality assurance
- Geared up to go national, but funding got cancelled from NYDA
- Negotiated with DoSD re reporting of numbers of beneficiaries, to include workers in OLM (for support purposes)
- Trainees reaching a ceiling of saturation in the workshop
- International exchange with Germany with the aim of establishing an integration company project... (*sub-category: North-South differences*)
- Employers taking responsibility to develop workers with intellectual disability

- Being surprised about what was achieved – families

Realities for people with intellectual disability

- Involving the family
- OLM cannot absorb/accommodate all people with intellectual disabilities
- No care programme for adults with severe/profound intellectual disabilities
- Sometimes, have the skill, but cannot apply it for 40 hours/week

Changes in the student/trainee after participating in the programme

- Having "a mind of his/her own"
- Becoming more independent from family

North-South differences

- Integration office in Germany – only focused on disability
- Levies from companies paid to integration office
- 100% funding to protective workshops
- Integration companies funded by integration office
- Formal assessment of % productivity – integration office compensates for % that the person with the disability falls short at
- End of 2013, integration office got 500mill Euros in – ALL assistive devices/services covered by funding

Understanding the need ("greater good") for disability employment

- Choosing to employ people with disabilities in Germany/paying a subsidy if you choose not to

Programme content & operation

- Two permanent job coaches
- Additional project job coaches
- Internships at CMHS – incl. Service Users Liaison Officers
- FP&M Seta – Basic clothing manufacturing level 1 learnership
- Bridging into learnership at one workshop
- Integration company does contract cleaning and gardening – earning market related wages
- Life-long learning

Job coach roles, responsibilities, tasks and attributes

- Initial intensive support
- Less intensive as rotations progressed
- Looking after previous and new workers
- Educational coach during learnership training
- Support is for all: employee, employer, co-workers, family members.

Gee net vir ons die geleentheid

- Entering Utshintshe-1 with a hidden agenda...
- Proving that people with intellectual disability can work and master a skill, overcoming fears

Funding mechanisms

- Creatively allocating funds across programmes to fund SE

- Cross-subsidisation to carry job coaches
- Currently use whatever funding is available (learnerships, skills programmes) to cover job coaching services (have 2 permanent job coaches)
- Workplace Experience Grant from Health & Welfare SETA...packaging job coaching as assistive devices
- Having to utilize workshop project income to cross-subsidise workshop programmes, rather than paying all earned money over to trainees
- Mechanisms are available erratically

Aspirations created by the work transition programme

- Earning more money
- Being able to leave the workshop and work outside
- Allowing/facilitating trainees to conquer challenges in the workshop – creating aspirations about own abilities – starting to look "outside"
- Employees from 1st cycle of Utshintshe-1 returning to ask about next steps
- Trainees developing and taking the places of people who have transitioned into the OLM

Barriers to evolution/shortcomings of the programme

- Lack of manpower and funding to offer sustainable support
- Not guarantee of ongoing funding
- Managing learnership grants so as to cover support services effectively
- No SE-specific funding
- Cannot hand over to job coach in industry
- Selling the job coach services together with the potential candidates
- Getting employers' minds around coaching as reasonable accommodation
- Not having the resources of a first world country like Germany
- Planning has to happen on an ongoing basis depending on availability of funds
- DG as a factor (also from the perspective of the family)
- Trainees who enter workshop from LSEN schools are ill-prepared with no effective indication of skills and/or skill level

Critical ideas about disability in the world

- Previous perceptions of people with intellectual disabilities as being unable to self-advocate, needing pity and care
- Fear of "mental disability"
- "if it doesn't work, we'll take them away..."

Factors playing a role in work transition

- Attitude of employer towards disability in the workplace
- Previous perceptions of people with intellectual disabilities as being unable to self-advocate, needing pity and care
- Opportunities for participation if you cannot perform "100%" in your job
- Lack of knowledge/understanding/insight by employers about the concept of disability, from a human rights perspective

Failures of the special educational system

- Lack of preparation for OLM

- Learners measured against their peers, not OLM requirements
- No indication of skills set/-ability
- Strengthens stigma around workshops for disabled – dissuading learners to transition into workshops from school
- Post-school job shadowing ... failures culminating in passive years at home, potential involvement in destructive occupations in society – trainee starts at workshop with significant lag
- Unavailable/inaccurate statistics re sustained placements
- Schools performing contract work during school hours – undercutting workshops' rates

Future plans/projections

- SE as a separately funded entity/project
- Part-time OT at one workshop
- 100 Services Seta learnerships with a skills institute
- Proposing/appealing to DoL and DTI to classify work support as reasonable accommodation/assistive devices
- Post-school qualification to prepare person with intellectual disability to enter skills programme/accredited qualification

Is this what occupational justice is about?

- Receiving a salary slip for the first time
- Opportunities (limited) available to higher function people with intellectual disabilities, while lower functioning people with disabilities have the same right
- Having to fulfil 100% of a job requirement without accommodation

Addendum C: Moderator guide for researcher

Moderator guide (*Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013*)

Logistics:

- Date of interview: 31/10/2014
- Location of interview: XXXX
- Participants for the session: XXXX

Research goals:

To learn about participants' experiences of being part of a work transition programme

Participant profile:

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Topics to cover:

- What the work transition programme entails
- How the programme has/is prepared them for the open labour market
- Specific positive experiences about the programme
- Specific negative experiences with the programme
- What participants would like to see happen differently within the programme
- Participants' ideas about work readiness

Timing guide:

- Name stickers
- Introduction: 5min
- Signing of consent forms: 10min
- Interview: 45min
- Closure: 5min
- Total: 1h5min

Purpose of the session:

"Thank you for joining our focus group discussion. My name is Madri and I will be facilitating our discussion today. Have any of you ever participated in a focus group?"

We're going to be talking about the programme that you've been participating in today. I want to hear about your experiences. It's a way for you to provide me with information about this programme for the purpose learning about it and about your experiences. Our session should last about an hour and a half. Right now I want to let you know a few things about what we're doing today."

Disclosure

- Audio taping
- Consent and consent forms
- Plans for reporting

Procedures

- Mobile phones switched off
- Confidentiality assured
- There are no right or wrong answers
- Be honest
- I would like to hear from everyone, so don't be shy. On the other hand, be considerate of others if you notice that you are talking a lot and others are contributing less.
- One person should talk at a time, but there is no need to raise your hand to contribute; try to let the conversation flow naturally.
- Keep the conversation 'in the group', since side conversations can distract the conversation flow.
- Anything someone wants to say is important
- No official breaks

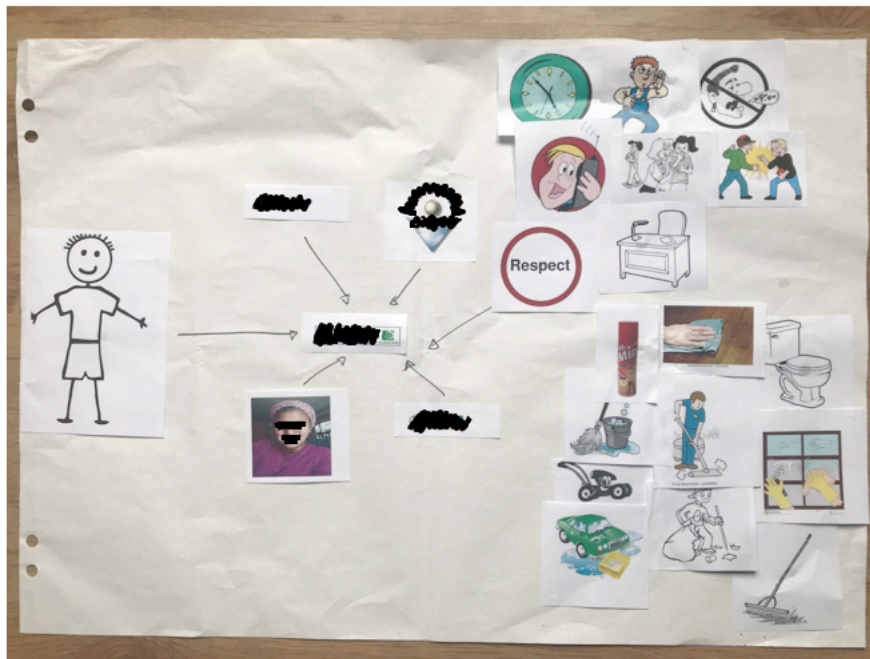
Participant introduction

- First name
- Age
- Course completed

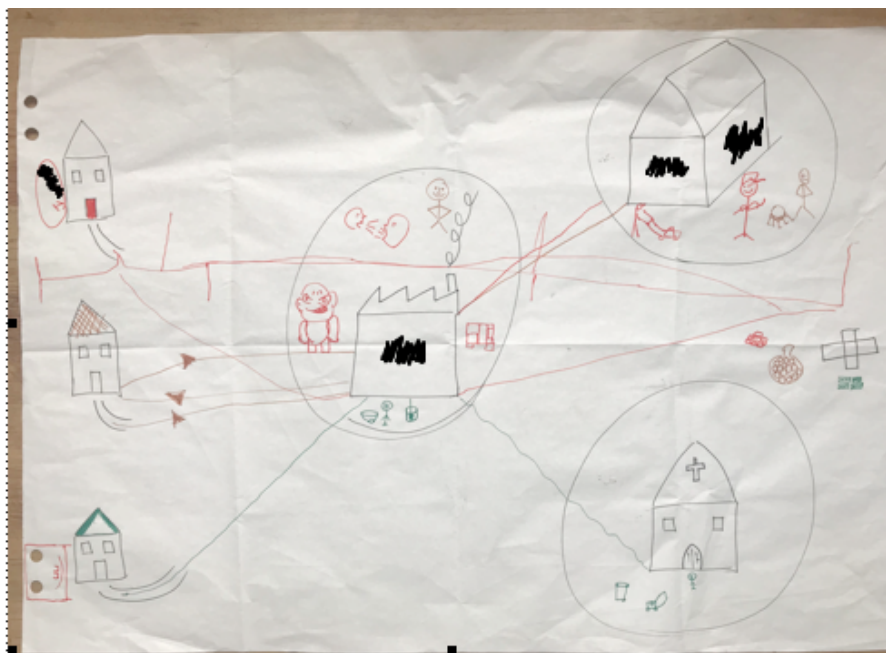
Question guide:

- Tell me about your experiences of being part of this programme ...

Addendum D: Visual aids used in follow-up focus group interviews



Poster with printed pictures



Poster with drawings by group participants

Addendum E: Confidentiality statement for transcriber and translator

CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT

Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities.

I _____ undertake not to share the identity of any participants in the study for which I am contracted to do transcription and translation, with anyone, as well as to protect, to the best of my ability, the identity of the organisations that they may represent.

Signed:

Transcriber/translator

Date and place

Researcher

Date and place

Witness (if necessary)

Date and place

Addendum F: Information letter to Deputy Director of organisation



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Date.....

Dear Mr/Ms

Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities

I am a post-graduate student in the Occupational Therapy Division at Stellenbosch University. My research is about youth with disabilities and employment, and in particular about programmes in the public system that assist youth with disabilities in becoming employed.

Researchers already understand the importance of work and employment, and how it (or the lack thereof) impact on people's health and well-being. We also know that youth with disabilities, especially in low- and middle income countries, are more often excluded from participating in work and employment opportunities. This is also true of our country, and it appears that, generally speaking, we do not know how to effectively support youth with disabilities into employment; hence, their extremely low employment rate.

I am interested in studying a number of work transition programmes, with the aim of informing our understanding of how these programmes promote occupational justice for youth with disabilities who participate(d) in them. Occupational justice is a kind of justice that acknowledges that people are occupational beings who should have access to a range of occupational opportunities that are meaningful to them, to contribute to their health and well-being.

I would like to invite your work transition programme to participate in the study. Participation would entail the following:

- Two/three individual interviews with a programme convenor/manager
- Two/three individual interviews with a programme officer (i.e. someone responsible for operationalising the programme)
- Two/three individual interviews with employers who collaborate with the programme
- Allowing me access to a number of programme documents (e.g. vision and mission statements) to review
- Putting me in contact with youth with disabilities who are currently and have previously participated in the programme
- Giving me permission to observe a number of instances in the operations of the programme (e.g. an initial interview with a disabled youth who is entering the

programme).

I have received ethical clearance from the University of Stellenbosch's Health Research Evaluation Committee and the Ethics Committee, Faculty of Medicine and Health sciences (REF S14/01/022) to go ahead with the study. To complete my data collection, I would appreciate having access to your programme starting (date.....). The study will include two phases of data collection.

The information shared during individual interviews will only be used for the purpose of this study, and only if the interviewee agrees to participate and give his/her written consent (see attached consent form). Each person's participation will be completely voluntary, and your programme may withdraw from further participation at any point in time, without any consequences to the programme and its participants. Furthermore, in my analysis of data and the report of my findings, the programme and individual participants' identity will be protected by using pseudonyms.

Focus group participants will each give their written consent, and sign a confidentiality clause (see attached), stating that they will not divulge the identities of other participants to anyone outside of the group. Throughout the research process, as well as during dissemination of findings (e.g. in publications), participants and their organisations' identities will be protected as far as possible. I will follow rigorous processes to ensure that data is kept confidential and safe by implementing a secure data management process. Discussions and interviews will be transcribed by a contracted person, bound by a confidentiality clause.

Cost of participation

My research funds will cover all costs involved in participation in the study. Should employed disabled youth need to negotiate with an employer regarding their participation in this study, I will assist them by contacting the employer directly and/or sending a letter of motivation for the person's participation.

The university can unfortunately not accept liability though for compensation in the event of injury during participation in the study.

In closing: I would appreciate it if you would consent to participating in this study. Your contribution will enhance our mission towards more effective work transition programmes for youth with disabilities, to counter unemployment in this group and establishing occupational justice through work.

Should you have any questions or need further information about the study, you are welcome to contact my academic supervisor, Prof. Lana van Niekerk (021-938 9307/lanavn@sun.ac.za), or the Ethics Committee, Faculty of Medicine and Health sciences, Ms Mertrude Davis, at 021-938 9207.

Thanking you in advance for your time

Madri Engelbrecht
PhD Student (Occupational Therapy)
Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences

Stellenbosch University
Tel./Cell No.: 083 5044 571
Email: jcbmad003@myuct.ac.za

Addendum G: Agreement letter from participating organisation

Agreement with Cape Mental Health relating to PhD studies

This outlines the agreement between Madri Engelbrecht (the student) and Cape Mental Health (CMH) relating to the PhD study at the University of Stellenbosch entitled: *Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities*.

The student undertakes to:

1. Align all research done at CMH or with CMH service users to the ethical guidelines prescribed with specific emphasis on the ethical guidelines for vulnerable groups and according to the requirements of the Mental Health Care Act (17 of 2002).
2. Give credit to CMH in all publications (printed or electronic) and/or presentations that result from the research, while omitting the identity of the specific programme from which participants were sourced.
3. Provide CMH with a printed and electronic copy of all publications that result from the research.
4. Do a presentation of the findings to CMH staff and others as identified by CMH.
5. Respect CMH intellectual property that may be shared as part of the research.
6. Remunerate CMH for support provided to service users at the agreed rate of R300/hour x 8 hours.
7. Negotiate with CMH any additional time required to interview staff and/or programme managers and to do so at a time convenient to CMH to ensure that it does not interfere with service delivery.

Signed:

For student:

Madri Engelbrecht _____ Date: _____

Witness for student: _____ Date: _____

For Cape Mental Health:

Deputy Director _____ Date: _____

Witness for CMH: _____ Date: _____

Addendum H: Information letter to individual participants



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jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Date.....

Dear Mr/Ms

Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities

I am a post-graduate student in the Occupational Therapy Division at Stellenbosch University. My research is about youth with disabilities and employment, and in particular about programmes in the public system that assist youth with disabilities in becoming employed.

Researchers already understand the importance of work and employment, and how it (or the lack thereof) impact on people's health and well-being. We also know that youth with disabilities, especially in low- and middle income countries, are more often than not excluded from participating in work and employment opportunities. This is also true of our country, and it appears that we do not know how to effectively support youth with disabilities into employment; hence, their extremely low employment rate.

I am interested in evaluating a number of work transition programmes within, with the aim of informing our understanding of how these programmes promote occupational justice for youth with disabilities who participate(d) in them. Occupational justice is a kind of justice that acknowledges that people are occupational beings who should have access to a range of occupational opportunities that are meaningful to them, to contribute to their health and well-being.

I would like to invite you to participate in the study. Your participation would entail two or three individual interviews with myself, the researcher, which will be scheduled at a time that is convenient for you. These interviews will be audio recorded for transcription purposes.

I have received ethical clearance from the University of Stellenbosch's Health Research Evaluation Committee and the Ethics Committee, Faculty of Medicine and Health sciences (REF S14/01/022) to go ahead with the study. The information shared in the individual interviews will only be used for

the purpose of this study, and only if you agree to participate and give your written consent (see attached consent form). Your participation will be completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from further participation at any point in time, without any consequences. Furthermore, in my analysis of data and the report of my findings, your identity will be protected by a pseudonym.

I will follow rigorous processes to ensure that research data is kept confidential and safe by implementing a secure data management process. The interviews will be transcribed by a contracted person, bound by a confidentiality clause.

My research funds should cover all costs involved in participation in the study. The university can unfortunately not accept liability though for compensation in the event of injury during participation in this study.

In closing: I would appreciate it if you would consent to participating in this study. Your contribution will enhance our mission towards more effective work transition programmes for youth with disabilities, to counter unemployment in this cohort and establishing occupational justice through work.

Should you have any questions or need further information about the study, you are welcome to contact my academic supervisor, Prof. Lana van Niekerk (021-938 9307/lanavn@sun.ac.za), or the Ethics Committee, Faculty of Medicine and Health sciences, Ms Mertrude Davis, at 021-938 9207.

Thanking you in advance for your time

Madri Engelbrecht
PhD Student (Occupational Therapy)
Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences
Stellenbosch University
Tel./Cell No.: 083 5044 571
Email: jcbmad003@myuct.ac.za

Addendum I: Consent form



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Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities

I _____ have read (or had read to me by _____) the Information Letter. I understand what is required of me and I have had all my questions answered. I do not feel that I am forced to take part in this study and I am doing so of my own free will. I know that I can withdraw at any time if I so wish and that it will have no negative consequences for me.

Signed:

Participant

Date and place

Researcher

Date and place

Witness (if necessary)

Date and place

Addendum J: Ethical approval letter



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Approved with Stipulations New Application

25-Feb-2014
Engelbrecht, Madri

Ethics Reference #: S14/01/022

Title: Occupational justice through employment: a qualitative evaluation of public work transition programmes available to youth with disabilities.

Dear Mrs Madri Engelbrecht,

The New Application received on 29-Jan-2014, was reviewed by members of Health Research Ethics Committee 2 via Minimal Risk Review procedures on 21-Feb-2014.

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

Protocol Approval Period: 25-Feb-2014 -24-Feb-2015

The Stipulations of your ethics approval are as follows:

1. All comments and concerns raised by the evaluation panel appointed by die KNO were adequately addressed, hence I do not have any comments on the protocol.

2. Regarding the Informed Consent Form (ICF):

2.1 We suggest that the ICF be split into 2 separate documents - one for in depth interviews and one for focus group discussions by youth. The issues to highlight differ between the two groups and will read easier if split.

2.2 No mention is made of audio-tapes during interviews / focus groups.

2.3 No mention is made of support services available to youth with disabilities who might need emotional support during / after focus group discussions.

Please remember to use your protocol number (S14/01/022) on any documents or correspondence with the HREC concerning your research protocol.

Please note that the HREC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

After Ethical Review:

Please note a template of the progress report is obtainable on www.sun.ac.za/rds and should be submitted to the Committee before the year has expired. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Translation of the consent document to the language applicable to the study participants should be submitted.

Federal Wide Assurance Number: 00001372

Institutional Review Board (IRB) Number: IRB0005239

The Health Research Ethics Committee complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research and the United States Code of Federal Regulations Title 45 Part 46. This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki, the South African Medical Research Council Guidelines as well as the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health).

Provincial and City of Cape Town Approval

Please note that for research at a primary or secondary healthcare facility permission must still be obtained from the relevant authorities (Western Cape Department of Health and/or City Health) to conduct the research as stated in the protocol. Contact persons are Ms Claudette Abrahams at Western

Cape Department of Health (healthres@pgwc.gov.za Tel: +27 21 483 9907) and Dr Helene Visser at City Health (Helene.Visser@capetown.gov.za Tel: +27 21 400 3981). Research that will be conducted at any tertiary academic institution requires approval from the relevant hospital manager. Ethics approval is required BEFORE approval can be obtained from these health authorities.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

For standard HREC forms and documents please visit: www.sun.ac.za/rds

If you have any questions or need further assistance, please contact the HREC office at 0219389207.

Included Documents:

HREC Checklist
Proposal
Application form
Investigator declaration
Supervisor declaration
Information letter
Synopsis

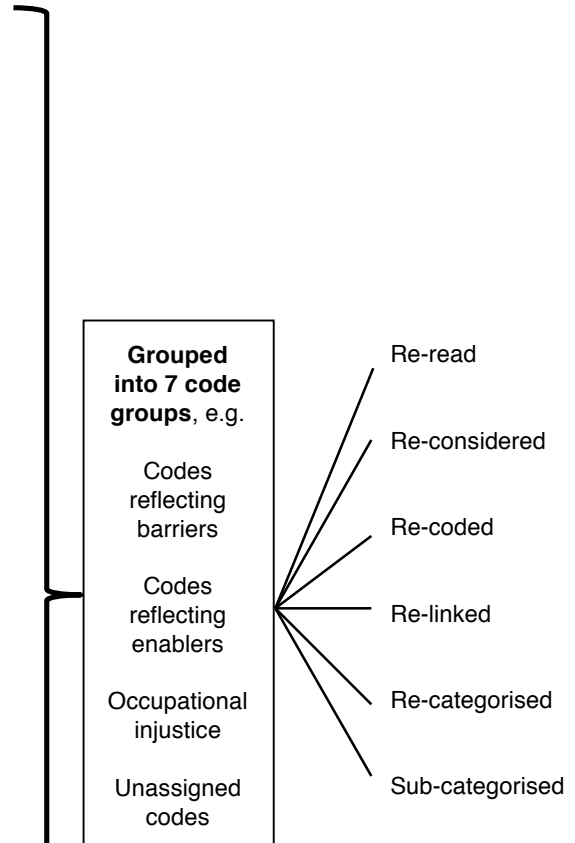
Sincerely,

Mertrude Davids
HREC Coordinator
Health Research Ethics Committee 2

Addendum K: Example of systematic thematic analysis

88 codes developed in Atlas.ti

◇ Background to TWU work transition programme	51
◇ Capacity	10
◇ Client-centred values	2
◇ Collaborative efforts in the sector	2
◇ Disability-specific accommodation and/or intervention	28
◇ Disclosure	1
◇ Dysjunctures: OLM needs & WTP offerings	2
◇ Employed and included	4
◇ Employed but excluded	3
◇ Employer-employee relationship	18
◇ Employer-programme relationship	6
◇ Employment opportunities in this economy	6
◇ Empowerment	4
◇ Enclave employment	2
◇ Entrepreneurship	9
◇ Ethics	3
◇ Factors influencing transition into the workplace	24
◇ Family	15
◇ Fears about working	4
◇ Funding (or lack thereof) as driver/influencer of occupational opportunity	30
◇ Gee net vir ons die geleentheid	2
◇ Goals & visions	1
◇ History: Employer relationship with TWU	1
◇ How the programme has prepared the participant for the OLM	10
◇ Independence in work	7
◇ Jason 2: Ja, we're not caretakers...	1
◇ Job Coach Characteristics	2
◇ Job Coach Roles	42
◇ Job coach roles: constraints	3
◇ Lack of knowledge and skill of staff	0
◇ Lack of sustained support at work	1
◇ Learnership as a tool for transition	17
◇ Learning from other programmes	3
◇ Learning in the workplace	23
◇ Legislation creates opportunities for "certain" disability groups	3
◇ Limited human resources	2
◇ Meaningfulness	5
◇ Natural supports	3
◇ Objectives and operations of Siyanceda	21
◇ Occupational injustice	19
◇ Occupational justice	30
◇ Ons het altyd 'n hidden agenda	1
◇ Opportunity creating the need for further opportunity	4



Final themes and categories

Preliminary themes with categories, for example

Enablers of work transition – job coaches as crucial figures = forms of support